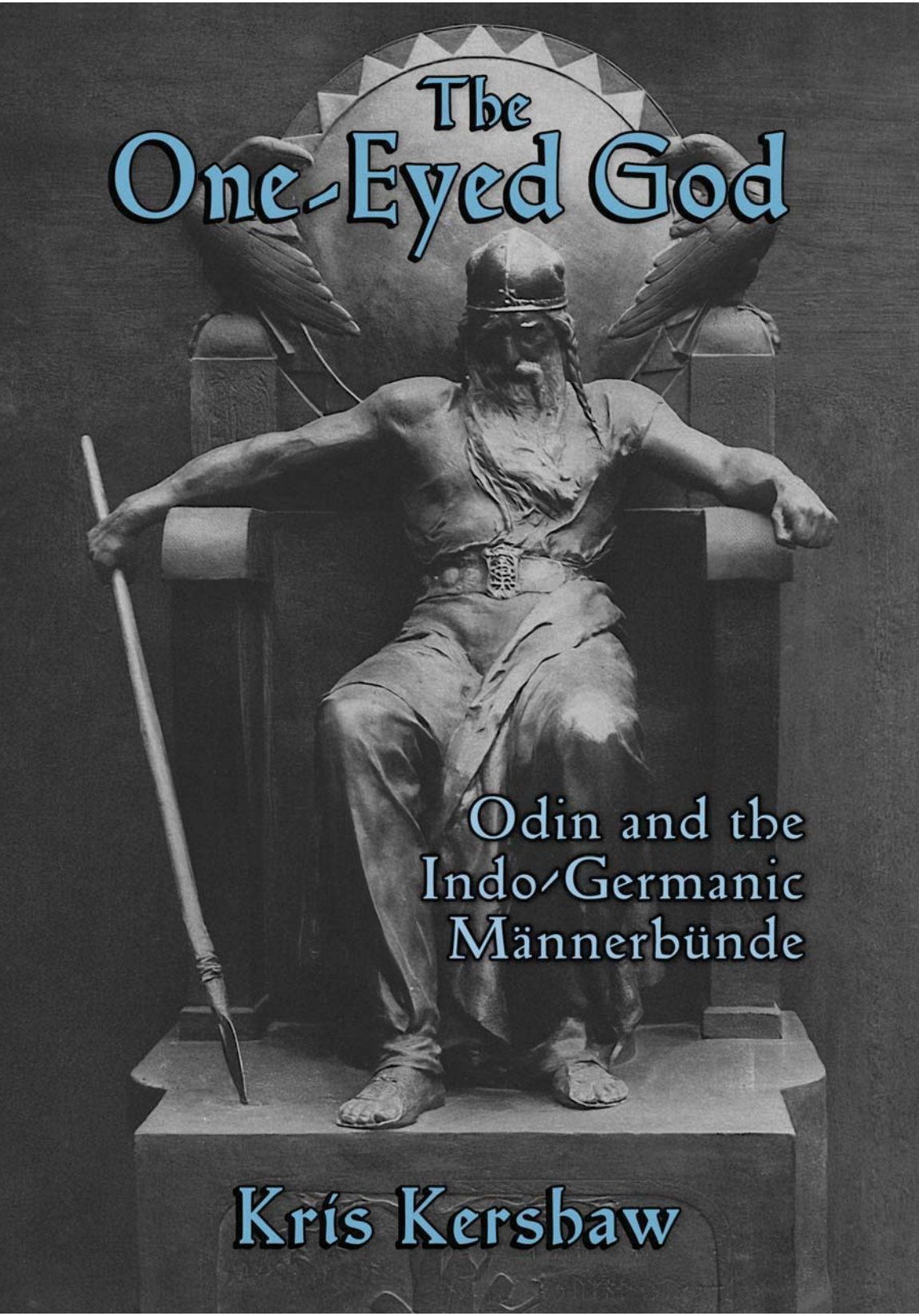
The
One-Eyed God
Odin and the
Indo-Germanic
Männerbünde
Kris Kershaw

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PREFACE

A few words are in order concerning translations and abbreviations. Translations are mine unless a translator is indicated. If, for example, I have translated a passage from *Heimskringla*, I will simply give the saga and chapter; if I am using Monsen's translation, this information will be followed by "Monsen" and the page number.

The abbreviations used throughout, e.g. for titles of journals or Old Icelandic poems or sagas, are the conventional ones; thus I have not listed them.

Chapter 1. *grandaevus altero orbus oculo.*

Odin has one eye. He normally wears a broad-brimmed hat (his *Schlapphut*) pulled down over his face, and a great travelling-cloak. When he is here in Miðgarðr, interacting with the children of men, he often appears as an old man with a long grey beard; usually he is a strange old wanderer. The grey-beard, the wanderer, is only his favorite among his many disguises. He is a master of disguises, as his frequent by-name *Grímr* suggests. Certainly he delights in deception. But the missing eye is the constant feature, and it often happens that a person finally gets a glimpse of the face under the hat and knows at once with whom he has been speaking.

When not in disguise he rides an eight-legged grey stallion named Sleipnir. Two ravens fly over the world every day, then perch on his shoulders and tell him all that they have seen. Two wolves feed at his table. Although he never actually engages in battle he carries a spear. Among his own he is not the disheveled old wanderer; he is the king. But he is still one-eyed. The missing eye is not part of a disguise. In *Haraldskvæði*, one of the earliest extant Old Norse poems[1], Oðinn is called

hinum eineygja / Friggjar faðmbyggvi

"the one-eyed dweller in Frigg's embrace," i.e. her husband.

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1. The earliest stanzas, to which this belongs (Jan de Vries *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964] II, 136f), were written shortly after the battle of Hafrsfjord, which is dated "earlier than 900, but not before 885." Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (London: Oxford UP, 1968) 89.

1.1. The eye in the well.

The völva says to Oðinn,

> alt veit ec, Óðinn, hvar þú auga falt:
> í inom mæra Mímis brunni. (Vsp.28. 7-10)

I know everything, Odin--where you hid your eye: in that famous well of Mimir.

His eye is in Mimir's well. Snorri tells the myth:

> But under the root that reaches towards the frost-giants, there is where Mimir's well is, which has wisdom and intelligence contained in it, and the master of the well is called Mimir. He is full of learning because he drinks of the well from the horn Giallarhorn. All-father went there and asked for a single drink from the well, but he did not get one until he placed his eye as a pledge. (Faulkes *Edda* 17).

This is succinct. It is also a little strange. Elsewhere (Vsp.46; Gylf.26, 51) Giallarhorn is Heimdall's horn which he will blow to rally the gods at the last battle.[2] Moreover our Völuspa passage continues,

> Dreccr miöð Mímir morgin hverian
> af veði Valföðrs-- (Vsp.28. 11-13)

Mimir drinks mead every morning from Slaughter-father's (Odin's) pledge.

His eye? Baffling. We will return to Mimir and his well.

---

2. From its name it would appear to be better suited to this purpose than for drinking: *gialla* "laut tönen" (Neckel, *Glossar*).

1.2. *Heiti* relating to Odin's eyesight.

1.2.1. *Blindr.*

Many of Odin's by-names designate him as blind or weak-sighted.

Blindr (11).[3] Sometimes he is simply "der Blinde," "Blind Man," as in

Blindr inn bölvisi. This Odin-surrogate is Helgi's betrayer in HH2. The heiti means something like "Blindi the malicious," or "the malicious blind man." Falk points to Saxo's *Bolvisus luminibus captus*, King Sigar's wicked adviser.[4]

Blindr enn illi. King Hadding's counselor in *Hrómundar saga*, another betrayer.

Gestumblindi (43). Since Wessén's 1924 article,[5] the interpretation *Gestr inn blindi*, "the blind guest," has been universally accepted. Odin is the guest[6] of King Heiðrik, whom he defeats in a Riddle-

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3. Numbers in parentheses refer to Hjalmar Falk, *Odensheite* (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad, 1924).

4. The king also had a good adviser, Bilvisus. "The two counsellors, one good and one evil, have been interpreted as two different representations of Odin, who in *Ynglinga Saga* 7 is said to have been helpful to his friends but terrifying to his enemies." H.R.Ellis Davidson, ed., Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes*. Trans. by Peter Fisher. (Cambridge [Eng.] & Totowa: D.S.Brewer, Rowman & Littlefield, 1979) II, 113.

5. Elias Wessén, "Gestumblinde," in *Festskrift tillägnad Hugo Pipping* (Helsingfors: Mercators Tryckeri, 1924). But Detter had said it already in 1893 ("Zur Ynglingasaga," *PBB* 18) 86.

6. As a traveler, Odin frequently turns up as a guest; he gives Gestr (42)

contest by an improper riddle.

Tvíblindi (141). "The doubly-blind." This heiti appears often in the thulur. According to Falk, it designates Odin either as one who is himself blind (but not really: one-eyed, weak-sighted) or who strikes others with blindness, and he refers to Herblindi. This interpretation is accepted by Simek (419).

Gunnblindi (49). In the thulur. Falk says "actually: he who blinds in battle, see *Herblindi*."

Herblindi (65). Thulur. According to Falk, "Herblinde should be 'he who strikes armies with blindness', like *Gunnblindi*...." Simek accepts this.[7] I am less happy with it and the above, as I will explain.

Bileygr (7). Grm 47.4, and elsewhere: "the weak-eyed." Falk points to Fms 2, 138, where Odin appears to king Olaf as an old man, "very wise of speech, one-eyed and weak-sighted (i.e. *svaksynt*)" but compares this to *Báleygr* (6), the next name with which Odin identifies himself to Grimnir, and a frequent by-name referring to his flaming eye. "So, as a man, Odin was weak-sighted, as a god, flaming-eyed."

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as his name when he visits St. Olaf in *Nornagests Þáttr (Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar).*

7. "der das feindliche Heer Blendende," 171.

1.2.2. Other possible *heiti*.

To the above list we can add *Hárr*, which Falk takes as "the hoary one" ("with grey hair and beard"), certainly appropriate, but which both de Vries and Turville-Petre, following Sijmons, relate to Go. *haihs*, one-eyed.[8]

Falk 138 is *Svipdagr blindi*, in Yng.s. the foster-father of Ingjald son of Anund, King of Sweden. When the boy shows himself a weakling, Svipdagr gives him a wolf's heart to eat; "after that Ingjald became the grimmest and most hasty-tempered of all men." (Hkr.25) As king, Ingjald doubled the size of his kingdom by a treacherous act. Simek accepts Svipdagr blindi as "ein Deckname Odins" (378), as does de Vries and others, and certainly the adjective "blind" applied to someone who obviously is not, as well as the role of foster-father-cum-wicked counselor, suggests Odin[9]; furthermore Snorri names a Svipdagr

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8. Sijmons: "*Hárr*, ein Óþensname, der...wahrscheinlich auf ein urnord. kompos. **haiha-hariR* 'der einäugige held' zurückzuführen ist; das erste glied ist got. *haihs*, lat. *caecus*...." Kommentar 1, 27. Sijmons refers to Detter, who wrote: "Die regelrechte nord. entsprechung von got. *haihs* μονόφθαλμος Marc. 9,47 müsste *hárr* lauten, so wie dem got. *faihs* an. *fárr* entspricht. Der beiname Óðins könnte also ursprünglich 'der einäugige' bedeutet haben, so wie bei Saxo Othinus als der *altero oculo orbus* erscheint...." Detter is followed by Noreen (54.1); cf. Jan de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1935) 193, N3; E.O.G.Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964) 62.

9. As well as counselor, Odin appears as foster-father or protector of heroes; his protegés are not famous for loftiness of character.

as a descendant of Odin in the Prologue to his Edda[10], and nothing is more natural than for a son or grandson of a god to appear as a hypostasis of his *Ahn*. But Yng.s. goes on to relate that Svipdagr blindi and his two sons are killed in a later battle. Now it is not Odin's wont to be killed in battle. He never engages in the fray; and he never, in an incontestable appearance, has human children who grow up and get killed. He never hangs around for years: he is the wanderer, the guest, and always mysterious. I think what we have here is a case of confusion.

Helblindi (variant of 65) appears in Grm. in most manuscripts of the elder Edda, but, although an appropriate name for Odin, is generally considered a mis-writing of Herblindi. Helblindi ("der Blinde des Totenreiches") is one of Loki's two brothers according to Gylf 32 and Skaldsk. 16[11].

1.2.3. "Blind," not "the Blinder."

As noted above, Falk wants to make Gunnblindi, Herblindi, and possibly also Tviblindi "den som blinder," he who blinds, and explains,

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10. His great-great grandson, to be exact; "Svebdegg, whom we call Svipdag." (Faulkes *Edda* 4) This is no invention of Snorri's: there is a corresponding Swæfdæg, descendant of Woden, in the mythical genealogies of the kings of England. Otto Höfler has shown that he is also a mythical ancestor of the Swabians ("Das Opfer im Semnonenhain und die Edda," in *Edda, Skalden, Saga*, hsg.v. Hermann Schneider (Heidelberg: Winter, 1952) 1-67.

11. Simek 168.

"Efter Yngl.s. k.6 kunde Oden gjøre sine fiender blinde og døve og rædselsslagne i kampen; i Flat. II, 72 slår han fienden med blindhet" (p 16). This is certainly true, but we are nevertheless faced with the fact that Odin is in other *heiti* unquestionably called blind. Since his blindness seems unavoidable, I do not see what is gained by interpreting one *x-blindi* as "blind" and another as "blinder."

Germanic names of the *Gunnblindi* type have their own mysterious logic;[12] it is a mistake to try to turn them somehow into grammatical phrases. Odin is associated with war, is a war-god, if you will, and he is "blind." It is sufficient to set the two elements side by side. These names will not translate.

So we are presented with a god who is called "blind" but who is never portrayed as blind. With reference to Nr.11, Blindr, Falk writes, "Når Oden her (og som Gestumblinde) betegnes som 'blind', er dette uttrykk å forstå relativt (jfr. *steinblindr* 'helt blind'), altså som 'svaksynt' (se *Bileygr*). Begrepene blind, svaksynt og enøiet glir oftere over i hverandre, f.e. engl. *purblind* 'svaksynt', tidligere 'enøiet' og 'blind' (isl.

12. "Der merkwürdig straffen Bindung, die sich die germanischen Namenbildner auferlegten, steht nun eine uralte Freiheit gegenüber: die Freiheit, auch solche Namenglieder aneinanderfügen zu dürfen, zwischen denen sich nur eine lockere Bedeutungsbindung herstellen ließ, ja, die überhaupt keinen zusammenhängenden Sinn ergaben. Es ist immer wieder versucht worden, solche 'sinnlosen' Bildungen als junges Gut abzutun. Dagegen spricht aber, daß sie bei einer ganzen Reihe von indogermanischen Völkern nachweisbar sind...man [muß] hier auf eine beide Glieder zusammenfassende Deutung verzichten..." Gottfried Schramm, *Namenschatz und Dichtersprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1957) 145f.

porri 'enøiet person'); got. *haihs* 'enøiet' = lat. *caecus* 'blind'" (5).

But Odin is not weak-sighted. On the contrary, he is remarkably sharp-sighted; this feature shows up time and again. From Hliðskiálf he can see all the worlds. He can see, for example, in the introduction to Grímnismál, how Frigg's fosterling is living in a cave, fathering brats on a giantess, while his own is a great king. He can see where Loki has hidden after causing Balder's death. As well as *Bileygr* he is *Báleygr*, flaming-eyed. But he is always one-eyed, and the pair *haihs--caecus* shows that the two concepts can indeed slide into one another. That there is much more than this involved is the point of this study, but first we must look at some other descriptions of Odin.

1.3. Other depictions of Odin/Wodan.

1.3.1. Snorri and Saxo.

When we turn to those parts of *Ynglingasaga* (2-9) and *Gesta Danorum* in which Odin is euhemerized--portrayed as a powerful chief or magician who lets himself be worshiped as a god--we find nothing of the missing eye. Snorri says of Odin the king, "when he sat with his friends he was so fair and noble in looks that all were joyful; but when he was with his army then he was terrifying to his foes." (Monsen, Yng.s.6, p4) Even when Snorri describes his magic powers and his shape-changing, so that he begins to look very like the god, there is no mention of the lost eye.[13] Nor does Snorri mention this feature in the Prologue to his Edda,

13. For that matter, Mimir's head is not in the well: Odin has it with him in his travels (*Yngs* 7).

in which Odin is again a human king.

Saxo does not describe either his euhemerized Odin or the gold statue that his admirers made in his likeness (I, 25), but there is nothing in his account to suggest that Odin was possessed of any physical abnormality. This is striking because the feature invariably shows up when Odin appears as someone supernatural. The story of Odin the man interrupts the story of Haddingus; it comes directly after the episode in which Haddingus has been rescued by an aged man who is lacking one eye (23-24).

1.3.2. Wodan, Woden, et.al.

There are no native pagan writings from southern Germania concerning the pagan religion. No Greek or Latin writer mentions a one-eyed god, nor does any Christian writer on the continent or in England. Adam of Bremen (c.1070) does not say whether or not the statue of Wodan in Uppsala was missing an eye.[14] The early Germani seem not to have had temples or idols--not, to be sure, because they were ideologically aniconic, but because such things are luxuries of a settled life. They may well have had small xoana, but these do not stand the test of time. In England, because Woden stood at the head of the Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies, there are a few pictures of him in manuscripts,

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14. *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Bk.IV. Craigie notes that "in no other writing of historical value is there any mention of an image of Odin." (*The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* [London: Archibald Constable, 1906] 48). Adam's Wodan is Mars: "Wodanem vero sculpunt armatum sicut nostri Martem solent."

and in these pictures he has two eyes[15].

Now I know that an argument *ex silentio* is not worth much, but in this particular case I believe it is worth something. Odin's missing eye is his outstanding physical feature. It is securely fixed in myth and in poetic language. If this were true also of his Continental and Anglo-Saxon counterparts, one could hardly expect it to have disappeared without a trace. Certainly a god so maimed is enough of an oddity that *one* of the classical writers would have heard of it from his informants and remarked upon it. It is more surprising that there is no word of this feature in Adam, since he gives a brief description of the statue which is, after all, in Sweden.

1.3.3. Iconography.

There remain three possible sources for graphic evidence: the Scandinavian rock-carvings, which date from perhaps 1500 BC to the beginning of our era[16]; small metal objects such as bracteates, clasps, and buckles dating from the migration period; and reliefs and engravings of mythological themes on gravestones, boxes, and even crosses of the post-

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15. See, f.ex., S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, "A Neglected MS of British History." *English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R.Tolkien.* Norman Davis & C.L.Wrenn, eds. London: Allen & Unwin, 1962; Joan Turville-Petre, "Illustrations of Woden and his Sons in English Genealogical Manuscripts." *Notes and Queries* (Oxford) 233/2 (1988) 158-159.

16. Oscar Almgren, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden.* Übertr.v. Sigrid Vranken (Frankfort a.M.: Diesterweg, 1934) xi.

conversion period. The first group probably could not be expected to show the kind of detail we would want. There are figures we can be confident are gods because they are several times larger, as well as more vitally depicted[17], than the figures around them; these in turn have attributes which are out of proportion to the gods themselves. There is a Spear-god, who may be a forerunner of Odin. But the carvings do not show individual facial features. "Bei dieser Vorstellungsart werden dem als lebendiges Wesen gedachten [Gott] ganz offenbar nur diejenigen Körperteile und Werkzeuge zugeschrieben, die dazu erforderlich sind, die beobachteten Wirkungen hervorzubringen; wie dieses Wesen im übrigen aussieht, ist nicht von Belang."[18]

As for the the bracteates and the like, Karl Hauck[19] has spent years examining these objects and makes a good case for seeing Wodan in whole series. In these, the god is shown in profile, facing both ways. In most of them there is a big, clear eye, but in some there is not, and Hauck points to these as showing Odin as "der eines Auges Ermangelnde." In IK LII he reproduces two of these, as well as several

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17. Almgren 137ff.

18. "In ähnlicher Weise stattet das Alte Testament seinen Jahve mit Augen, Ohren, Mund, Armen, Händen, Füßen und Herz aus, geht aber nicht so weit, anzunehmen, daß er noch weitere Körperteile besitzt." Almgren 292.

19. In the series "Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten" (IK) and other articles.

showing an oversized eye which Hauck connects with Odin as *Báleygr*; they are from Sweden, from around 500 AD[20].

In the late mythological scenes, too, where Odin is clearly identifiable, riding Sleipnir or fighting the Wolf, he is in profile. But in a stave church at Hegge, Norway, there is a carved wooden head which is unmistakeably one-eyed. The mouth is askew with the tongue sticking out. H.R.Ellis Davidson says cautiously it "could be a representation of the one-eyed god Odin. The outstretched tongue would be in keeping with Odin as the god of hanged men."[21]

Finally, on a bronze plate from Torslunda, dating to the sixth or seventh century AD, there is figure who we can be confident is Odin. He is wearing a horned helmet, has a sword in a scabbard and a spear in each hand, and he is dancing. In all this he is no different from many another weapons-dancer found on similar plaques in Scandinavia and Sutton-Hoo. The plate, which is a die for stamping a pattern, for example on a helmet, is approximately 2 1/8 by 2 3/8 inches; on this scale the dancer could pass for any of his brethren. But when the picture is enlarged several times it is obvious that the right eye socket is empty! To the left of this dancer is another; he, too, wears a sword and carries a spear. But his head is that of a wolf, and he has a tail hanging down

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20. "Die bremische Überlieferung zur Götter-Dreiheit Altuppsalas und die bornholmischen Goldfolien aus Sorte Muld," *FMS* 27 (1993) 441-460. For what it is worth, Odin is facing left in one, right in the other.

21. Ms. Davidson provides a full-page photograph. H.R.Ellis Davidson, *Scandinavian Mythology* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1969) 29.

from his three-quarter length garment which is cross-hatched in the engraving to indicate hair; human hands, lower legs and feet show that this is one of Odin's *Wolf-Krieger*, an *úlfheðinn*.[22] It is the presence of this figure, along with the missing eye, which allows us to make a positive identification of Odin.

The movement in the scene is from left to right, Odin going before the Wolfman. Possibly the single wolfman is a *pars pro toto*, and this is a representation of the god leading his warriors in ecstatic dance.[23] It is in Odin as leader of warriors--**in Odin as leader of an army of ecstatic wolf-warriors**--that we will find the answer to the puzzle of Odin the one-eyed god.

It seems extremely odd that a feature so important in Scandinavia at the turn of the millennium shows up nowhere else. Since the pagan religion continued to thrive in northern Germania very much longer than anywhere else, there is always the possibility that Odin's one eye is simply late and northern. The myth of the eye in the well is too

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22. Hauck had earlier identified the wolf as Fenris and saw in this scene the representation of a cult-drama; "Herrschaftszeichen eines Wodanistischen Königstums," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 14 (1954) 47. Cult drama it may well be, but I must agree with Heinrich Beck ("Die Stanzen von Torlunda und die literarische Überlieferung," *FMS* 2 [1968] 239, 247-249) that no hostility is suggested by the posture of the dancers: "Der Speer des Wolfshäuters setzt vorsichtig hinter dem gestreckten Fuß des Tänzers auf: nicht ein Gegeneinander der zwei Bewaffneten ist also beabsichtigt" 239 (and Plate XIV).

23. Below, 5.5.3 & 4.

sophisticated, although it is certainly old and belonged to the oral tradition. But the myth is an *aition* for something that is older still. From earliest Indo-European antiquity this god has been the one-eyed god[24]. And we will be journeying back and forth over all Indo-Europa, gathering together the pieces of the puzzle: the mythic and cultic complex of which this god is the center.

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24. I certainly do not mean to imply that *Odin/Wodan* goes back to PIE times. Living paganism is extremely fluid. Gods are constantly evolving and devolving. Hypostases of a god break off and take on lives of their own; one god will encroach upon the religious territory of another god and perhaps absorb that god in the process, or perhaps the pillaged god will keep his independence but see his sphere of influence restricted--unless he can move into some other god's territory. The ancestry of some gods is untraceable; some gods seem totally foreign. But for some it is clear that there is a core that goes back to the very earliest history of their people. This is the case with Odin. Wodan is certainly a *Germanic* god, but that which is basic to him goes back to PIE times, and as we are going to see, his analogs can be found among all the daughter peoples of whose religion we know anything at all.

Part I. *Herjann.*

Herjan(n) is an Odin by-name which appears frequently in poetry. To Gylfi's question, "Who is the highest or the oldest of all the gods?"[1] Hár answers that this god has twelve names, the second of which is Herran or Herjan. This is commonly translated "Herrscher," i.e. ruler, but such a translation fails to give the force of the word.

Herjan goes back to a germ. **harjanaz* and ultimately to IE **koryo-no-s*, that is, it is one of a class of nouns in -no-, in which *X-nos* can usually be satisfactorily translated "chief of the X." Thus the Gothic word for 'king' *þiudans* goes back to a **teuto-nos*, chief of the **teutā*, the tribe or the people as community.[2] But sometimes 'chief' is not a suitable translation. While "Lat. *Portunus* is effectively the master of the ports, and Gothic *þiudans* that of the people[, i]t is difficult to interpret the name of *Neptunus* in the same way. The connexion between *Neptunus* and the element of water cannot be transposed as such into the social domain. In fact here we have an incarnation, not the exercise of

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1. "Hverr er œztr eða elztr allra goða?" Gylf. 3.27. (Faulkes p8.)

2. Likewise Go. *kindins* 'ruler, governor' (Wright) from **genti-nos*, chief of the *gens*, the clan. OIc *dróttinn* 'lord, master,' (providing the word for 'the Lord'), 'chief' (Zoega), corresponding to OE *dryhten* with the same meanings, goes back to Gmc. **druxti-nos*, thus 'chief of the *drótt* (OIc) or *dryht* (OE), the people or household', thus answering to *dominus*, which it translates, with the same formation; (then the household of a king, i.e. his retainers, thus 'troop.') Emil Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society*. Trans. by Elizabeth Palmer. (Coral Gables: U.of Miami Press, 1973) 246f, cf 92.

authority: *Neptunus* personifies the watery element, he represents it. We can therefore say that *þiudans* personifies his people."[3] This is an important concept to keep in mind when considering Odin's relationship to the *herr* of which he is chief.[4]

Now if Odin is Heerführer, what we must first say concerning his *herr* is that NHD Heer 'army' gives the wrong sense: it makes one think of a highly organized and disciplined *exercitus* or *Wehrmacht*, and that is something very different. In this chapter we will be looking at Odin as leader of several different "armies" or "troops," starting with the *herr* for which he is most famous.

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3. Benveniste, *Language* 247.

4. Here we find ourselves "auf typisch indogermanischem Boden, am deutlichsten im Germanischen erkennbar. **Die Vorsteherbezeichnung ist hier nur eine Ableitung der entsprechenden Gemeinschaftsbezeichnung**: germ. **theud-anaz*, got. *kind-ins*, fränk. *tung-inus*, an. *drott-in*, ahd. *kun-ing*, an. *fylk-ir*." Kurt Stegmann von Pritzwald, "Zu umbr. *fratreks*." *Glotta* 21 (1933) 135, author's emphasis.
"Diese Bildungen sind sehr alt, begegnen sie doch nicht selten auch im Lateinischen (z.B. *dominus, tribunus* usw.) und in Spuren im Griechischen (κοίρανος) und im Illyrischen (*teutana 'Königin'*). Sie haben individualisierende und zugleich repräsentierende Bedeutung. Der auf diese Weise aus einem Personenkreise herausgehobenen Person kommt wohl in jedem Falle ein Führungsanspruch zu, der sich zur Herrschaft steigern kann, doch ist nicht erkennbar, daß ein Herrschaftsverhältnis von Anfang an ausgedrückt werden soll." Walter Schlesinger, "Über germanisches Heerkönigtum." *Das Königtum. Seine geistigen und rechtlichen Grundlagen.* Vorträge und Vorschungen, hsg. vom Institut für geschichtliche Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz, Band III. (Lindau & Konstanz: Jan Thorbecke, 1954) 107.

Chapter 2. The *Einheriar.*

2.1 Snorri's description of the Einheriar.

Gangleri asks: "'You say that all those men that have fallen in battle since the beginning of the world have now come to Odin in Val-hall. What has he got to offer them for food? I should have thought that there must be a pretty large number there?'[1]

"Then High replied: 'It is true what you say, there is a pretty large number there, and many more have yet to arrive, and yet there will seem too few when the wolf comes.'" High then tells about the boar Sæhrimnir, which "is cooked each day and whole again by evening," and names the cook and even the kettle. As for drink, "There is a goat called Heiðrun standing on top of Val-hall feeding on the foliage of that tree whose name is well known, it is called Lerad, and from the goat's udder flows mead with which it fills a vat each day. This is so big that all the Einheriar can drink their fill from it." There follows a description of the stag which also stands on the roof and a list of the many rivers that flow from water dripping from its antlers.

Gangleri finds all this quite amazing and inquires as to the size of Valhall. High quotes Grímnismál 23:

> Fimm hundrað dura
> ok of fjórum tøgum,
> svá hygg ek á Valhöllu vera.

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1. *Gylfaginning* 39. The following is from *Gylf.* 39-41, Faulkes 33-34. Eddic poetry is cited according to Neckel, 4. Auflage; poetry translations are mine.

Átta hundruð einherja
ganga senn ór einum durum
þá er þeir fara með vitni at vega.[2]

Thus Valhall can accomodate at least 432,000 warriors, and Gangleri is curious as to how they pass their time when they are not drinking. This time High quotes Vafðrúðnismál 41:

Allir einherjar
Óðins túnum í
högvask hverjan dag.
Val þeir kjósa
ok ríða vígi frá,
sitja meir um sáttir saman.[3]

All the information which High has passed on to Gangleri comes from Grm. except for this one stanza from Vfm. Snorri, who often knows more than the poetic sources he quotes, this time has no more than what is available to us.

Oddly, Völuspá has nothing to say about the einheriar coming out of their many doors for the last battle. The cock wakes them:

Gól um ásom Gullinkambi,
sá veer hölða at Heriafǫðrs[4]

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2. Five hundred doors and forty more I reckon there are at Valhall. Eight hundred einheriar at a time will go through each door when they go to fight the Wolf.

3. All the einheriar in Odin's fortress fight each other every day. They kill (each other) and ride from the battle, then sit together reconciled.

4. Gullinkambi crows among the Æsir, to wake the heroes at War-Father's.

At least it seems safe to assume that the heroes chez War-Father are his einheriar; but there is not a word of their marching out and engaging in the fight. There is no reason to doubt that they are there, however; it is the nature of heroic poetry to describe the fights of individual heroes as if war were a series of single-combats and the army as a whole did not exist. Here the gods are the combatants.

The material from Grm. has the look of having been worked over. Some of it is certainly very old, but in many places the rhythm of the been broken into and long lists of names added, as if some redactor had decided that this was a good place to store stray bits of lore.[5] What is certainly old is the idea of the einheriar as the protectors of Men against the Wolf. The Männerbund, of which the einheriar is a mythical paradigm, was always seen as a guardian against the forces of disintegration, as will be discussed further on. What is uniquely Germanic, or perhaps Nordic, is that this role has been moved into the future and made eschatological. Actually, the battle to maintain the cosmos is ongoing, and paralleling Thor as the individual monster-fighter there are the

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5. "Two centuries had passed since the introduction of Christianity in A.D. 1000, and we get the impression that at the time of their collection the older poems about the ancient gods were valued chiefly as a storehouse of the mythological lore indispensable to makers of skaldic verse. Where such poems omit, for instance, some of the names of Odin or other material valuable to skalds, the omission is often made good in a different metre, as if the collector, or some predecessor of his, were indifferent to the artistic merits of the poems, and were merely putting together all the relevant material he could find." Bertha Phillpotts, *Edda and Saga* (London: Folcroft, 1973) 24.

Einheriar, ready to fight the forces of the Wolf.[6]

As we will see as this study progresses, the einheriar which Snorri described is a learned and literary development of something whose roots go very deep into the past, both in myth and on the ground. For now it is enough to say that in the tenth century, at least, it was not just literary myth but living belief that a dead warrior could expect to go to Valhall. We know this from the praise-poems to the dead heroes Eirik Blood-Axe and his nemesis Hakon the Good. This belief framed the myth which would then explain why Odin always betrayed his favorites.

2.2 The word *einheriar*.

The einheriar are, of course, "the dead heroes in Valhalla;" the word is generally interpreted as "the 'only' or great champions" (C-V 121). The singular *einheri* is attested once only, in Lokasenna 60,4, where Loki uses it derisively of Thor:

> sízt í hansca þumlungi hnúcþir þú, **einheri**,
> oc þóttisca þú þá Þórr vera.
>
> When you were crouching, cowering in the thumb of the glove, O mighty Champion, you sure didn't come across as Thor![7]

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6. There is an excellent discussion of this world-view in Vilhelm Grønbech, *The Culture of the Teutons* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1932) I, 239ff.

7. The story is told in Gylf. 44-47, esp.45 (Faulkes 37-46, esp.40f).

We will deal with the second element first.

-heri is a *-jan*-stem noun indicating a person who belongs to the *herr*. These nouns, which had become rare by the time of our written sources, are generally (rather loosely) called agent nouns.[8] The simplex *heri* exists in the singular neither in OIc nor in any other Gmc. language, but the plural is probably behind the name of Tacitus' *Harii*[9], of whom we will have more to say later. Einheri, einheriar is thus a fossil; the common OIc man's name Einarr goes back to it, as well as *einarðr* "bold" and *einörð* "valora' (C-V 121). A MPN *Einheri* is attested in OHG (DeVries *WB*).

I will return to the Einheriar shortly, but it is now time to look at the *herr* itself.

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8. Perhaps because they were largely replaced by the familiar -er type (with ending borrowed from Lat. *-arius*.) Some nouns of this type still exist in German, barely any in Eng.: der Hirt, des Hirten, cf. shepherd next to Dutch herder; Schütze (cf. "He's a good shot," not *shooter, *shootist); Schenke; Graf, etc. They are actually substantivized adjectives: to a noun X is formed an adjective showing "belonging to" by means of a *-ja* "suffix für zugehörigkeit" (Kluge 5); this X-ja adjective is then capped with *-n* to form a noun. Since *herr* army is itself a masc. *-ja* noun, the plural forms as well as the gen. sing. would have been identical (originally: the nouns in OIc made a new *-s* genitive).

9. "und name einer göttin *Hariasa*..., sowie *Hari-gasti* auf Neugau-helm." deVries WB 224. "Dann bedeutete Plural got. *harjos* ursprünglich 'Krieger, Heerleute', ebenso das latinisierte *Harii*; vgl. gall. Völkernamen wie *Tri-, Petru-corii*, deren 1. Element 'drei', 'vier' bedeutet." Hermann M. Flasdieck, "Harlekin." *Anglia* 41 (1937) 298.

2.3 *Herr* and *Herjann*.

The related verb, ON *herja*; OE *hergian, heriȝan*; OHG *herron, herion*, means "make a predatory raid, destroy, lay waste, plunder, despoil, commit ravages." Modern English harry and harrow go back to this word. So if *herja*, etc., is what a *herr* does, we have a good clue as to what sort of army we are talking about. And in fact, in OE, the noun *here* "is the word which in the Chronicles is always used of the Danish force in England, while the English troops are always the *fyrd*; hence the word is always used for devastation and robbery" (Bosworth-Toller). The noun, then, which dropped out of English and became in German the word for army (Heer, n), meant "Menge, Schar," "troop, raiding-party."

This, in turn, reminds us of what "war" was in PIE times and in the early history of all the daughter peoples. War was *razzia*: theft of livestock and abduction of women. Even the Trojan war was a large-scale razzia far afield.[10] What really happened we will never know, but among the most realistic passages of the *Iliad* are those in which Achilles boasts of his raids by land and sea on Troy's neighbors during the monotonous years of the siege and Nestor reminiscences about his cattle-rustling youth, while in the *Odyssey* we have the hero's tale of the Cretan

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10. Geoffrey S. Kirk, "War and the Warrior in the Homeric Poems," in Jean-Pierre Vernant, ed., *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne.* (Paris: Mouton, 1968) 93-117; and Peter Walcot, "Cattle Raiding, Heroic Tradition, and Ritual: the Greek Evidence." *HR* 18 (1979) 326-351.

viking, a fictional character whose behavior was much like that of Odysseus himself upon his departure from Troy.

"Thucydides was not wrong," writes Walcot, "to describe early Greece as an age of pirates, adding, furthermore, that such violence at that time did not confer disgrace on the perpetrators but was, rather, a source of reputation."[14] Odysseus certainly neither expects nor receives condemnation for his piratical activities, and Achilles' razzias were a matter for boasting, for they brought him both women and booty.

In ancient India, "the importance of winning cattle is reflected in the frequently used term for "battle," Skt. *gáviṣṭi-*, which literally means "desire for cattle," and the term for a successful prince or war leader, *gopá-*, "lord of cattle."[15] And, despite the attempts of many interpreters to spiritualize cattle, cows, Lincoln says, are cows. The Iranian evidence backs this up. "When the god Vəraθraγna grants booty, he grants cattle. ...[T]his is in keeping with the reality of the Indo-Iranian warrior's situation, as cattle-raiding was his main pursuit."[16] As Kirk and Walcott both point out regarding the Trojan War, the material γέρας was quite as important to the warrior as τιμή: indeed it was inseparable from it.

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11. Walcot 330. Walcot suggests that the ship fresco from Thera may illustrate this aspect of Minoan-Mycenaean warfare. "Certainly it appears to begin with raiders landing from the sea after a battle, and the opening scene appears to include a sheepfold and oxen" (329f).

12. Bruce Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors, and Cattle*. (Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1981) 101.

13. Ib.102.

Lincoln quotes an "unsympathetic" Keith: "The stress laid by the [Vedic] poets on the possession of cows is almost pathetic."[14]

When we return to our northern vikings we find the same kind of raiding and the same mentality; all we have to do is substitute "gold" for "cattle." Whereas the Germans of Tacitus' day still measured wealth in terms of cattle (*Germania* 5), the successful viking or Anglo-Saxon prince or war leader is now *goldgiefa, bēag-gifa* (OE), *hringdrifi* (OIc): ring-giver, or *goldwine* (OE lit. gold-friend); his hall is *hringsele, bēag-sele, goldsele* (OE lit. ring- or gold-hall), hall where gold rings are distributed. The Norse or Anglo-Saxon warrior rallies his mates around their lord by reminding them of all the gold he has given them. We have progressed from *pecus* to *pecunia* as wealth and therefore as a sign of honor and the appropriate *geras*, but otherwise warfare in the heroic age of Germania is much as it was in the heroic age in Greece and India. These *herjar* were bound to their lords or chiefs by strong ties of personal loyalty, so much so that it was a disgrace for a man to outlive his leader, an honor to fall with him, and all the more, at least in poetry, when the battle was doomed from the start: one has only to think of the OE *Malden*; or the end of *Hrólfs saga Kraka,* when Hjálti, with a rousing speech, which goes back to an old *Bjarkamál*, urges Hrólf's men to fight and fall as a living shield around this most generous of kings. Their devotion to their lord is easier to understand if we view him, with Benveniste, as more than leader of the band, but really its embodiment: the *þiudans* as not

14. Keith, "The Age of the Rigveda," in *The History of India*, 1:88, in ib., 101.

just king but personification of his people, the *kindins* the personification of the clan, the *dróttinn* of the *drótt*. And so, when the question arises as to whether or not Odin was "originally" a war-god, the answer is that Odin was originally the mythical leader and personification of the *herr*; that is the kind of war-god he was.

2.4 PIE **koryonos*.

PIE **koryo-no-s* is attested in Homeric Greek as κοίρανος; this word is also a PN in the *Iliad* and later.[15] The existence of a **koryonos* presupposes a **koryos*, the troop which the **koryonos* leads, represents, and embodies. This is precisely what we have in Go. *harjis*, AHD, AS *heri*, OE *here*, and OIc *herr*.

Gothic *harjis* was the tribal army. "When the tribal armies of the Goths...are mentioned without exaggeration, the number three thousand appears almost as a rule."[16] These numbers come up when the Goths are fighting an all-out war, i.e. with the Romans. Usually, though, the *koryos is a much smaller unit. In Germania, for example, under

15. And PNN of both Greeks and Macedonians are formed from it or from related words. Alfred Heubeck, "*Κοίρανος, Κόρραγος* und Verwantes." Würzburger Jahrbücher 4 (1978) 91-98. For the *a* of the second syllable see Martin Peters, *Untersuchungen zur Vertretung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Griechischen* (=Österreichiche Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 337. Band, Heft 8. Wien, 1980) 170-183. For Celtic cognates, de Vries *WB* gives gall. *corio-* 'krieger, heer', VN. *Tricorii, Petrucorii*.

16. Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*. Trans. by Thomas J. Dunlap. (Berkeley & L.A.: U of California Press, 1987) 97.

Bavarian law forty-two men constituted a *heri*, under Anglo-Saxon thirty-five, under Danish five, and under Langobardic law four.[17] Obviously these are not tribal armies but raiding-parties.

Razzias were the business of the adolescent boys, who functioned as highly mobile guerilla bands and at the same time learned hardiness, self-control, stealth and strategy, and other warrior qualities. This will be the subject of Part II. The **koryos* was the band of these warrior-novices.[18] It was a cultic warrior brotherhood, that is, the youths' formation was as much religious as it was martial, and the ties that bound them were as strong as blood. The commonly used term for this cultic band is *Männerbund*, and this is the term we will use in this study.[19] This is the *herr* of which *Óðinn Herjann* is the projection or personification, and of which his *Einheriar* are the mythical paradigm.

2.5. Thor Einheri and the Einherjar.

De Vries, followed by Simek, calls Thor "der Allein-Kämpfende;"

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17. Schlesinger 109.

18. Kim R. McCone, "Hund, Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen." *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, hsg. von Wolfgang Meid. (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1987) 101-154 *passim*. The **koryos* will be the subject of Part II.

19. It is not an ideal term. The youths are not men yet, and that is important, as we are going to see. But the term has been used by anthropologists since at least the turn of the century, and so it is established jargon, and the terms which are sometimes used to replace it are not, in my opinion, improvements.

and this he certainly is, but the Einheriar are not: they will fight as a *herr*. C-V has for Thor "thou great champion," and for the einheriar "the 'only' or great champions." For those who favor this translation, "only" is used in the sense of "select;" these are Odin's chosen. They point to the Valkyries, who "choose the slain" and bring them to Valhall. But *val kjósa* does not mean to choose which of the slain get to go to Valhall; it means something far more sinister. And I have a suggestion for *Einheri*.

In Skt. there are certain words compounded with the element *eka-* "one," where the *eka-X* is the X *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Of the class of the *rājanya*, the actual king is the *ekarāj*. From among the Vrātyas, an Indian Männerbund which will occupy us in Chapter IV, the *ekavrātya* rises as the paragon of the vrātyas: he becomes a god, he becomes *mahādeva* ("great god," = Rudra, the vrātya-god). Likewise Rudra himself is *ekadeva*.[20]

The first syllable of *e-ka* is the **ai-* of Gmc **aina-* "one" (cf Go. *ains*, OE *án*, Eng one, cf only; NHD *ein*) and thus OIc *ein* of *einheriar*.[21]

I would like to suggest that this is an old (PIE) conception which

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20. Rudra is not the "only" god, even to his followers: to them he is god *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Another mythical being from the circle of the vrātyas is the *ekarṣi* (eka-ṛṣi), paradigm and paragon of the *ṛṣi*s (mythical seers). We will meet these figures in Part III, esp. 10.9.

21. As well as the *oi* of L. *u-nus* < *oi-nos* and of Gk οἴ-νη, "the ace on the dice" L&S; cf. οἶος, οἴα *(-η)*, οἶον; Cyp. οἰϝος. " Sens: 'seul, isolé'" (*DELG*).

has been carried over into at least the poetic language of Germania.[22] Then Thor is the warrior κατ' ἐξοχήν, der Inbegriff des Kriegers, the paragon of the warrior. Which of course he is! And that is precisely what the einheriar are as well. The einheriar are the paragon of the *herr*, of the **koryos*.

22. Thus it might well go back to that illusive *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* which is the subject of a collection of essays by that name, ed. by Rudiger Schmitt (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968).

Chapter 3. *Der Schimmelreiter.*

Wodan's name has been associated with a spectral host which has been seen at least into the beginning of this century throughout Germania, galloping madly through the night sky over field and forest and through village streets. The host is known, in any given area, under one of two primary forms: *Wütendes Heer* and *Wilde Jagd.* The Hunt is more common in north and middle Germany, the Host in the south, but there is no clear dividing line; parts of southern Germany know the Hunt, parts of the north know the Host. In Scandinavia it appears under names such as Oskarei, a corruption of *ásgard-reið*[1] or *ásguðsreið*[2], and Oensjaegeren (Odin's Hunters). It was known in France as the *maisnie Hellequin.* England knew the Hunt[3]. The entire complex is extremely complicated and need not concern us. It is evident that Wodan attracted a mass of folklore elements which originally had nothing to do with him, but there are also elements which properly belong to his cult, as well as many which at first glance would seem to have no religious value at all, until we find them again in some other part of the IE world where contact

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1. *TM* 946.

2. *AGRG* II, 196.

3. Riders "*qui vulgari gallicano hellequin, et vulgari hispanico exercitus antiquus* ['span. ejercito antiquo'] *vocantur,*" *Tractatus de universo,* William of Auvergne, c.1230, in Flasdieck 248. "I.e. the vast throng of the dead," *TM* 941. The full gamut of manifestations of the Hunt/Host is given in *TM* 918-950. Harlequin, of course, had a great career on the English stage; Flasdieck's article traces his development.

is out of the question; then we suspect that there is something old and of cultic significance here, even if the significance escapes us. I am going to describe Hunt and Host briefly, picking out of the general confusion those elements which originally belonged to Wodan or which have interesting echoes elsewhere.

3.1. The Host and the Hunt.

Seen in the Host variant were armed men, who might do battle with one another. In both there were dogs and wolves; in some areas werewolves went into houses and stole beer and sometimes also food. There were two, three, six and eight-legged horses; often there were figures with fiery eyes. The Host frequently had a man who went out in front, warning people to get out of the streets. There were men dressed all in black, with black faces. Frequently there was a wagon, a sledge, even a plough. Handworkers of every sort displayed their tools, and there might be acrobats and jugglers in the throng. A feature peculiar to the Hunt variant was the pursuit and capture of one or more female demons, although the prey might be a hart, or there might be no prey at all. Complicating the picture are variants of the Hunt. In one there is a lone Hunter--*der Wilde Jäger* himself--with his hounds, but no hunting party; he is after one of these ghastly witches, which, when he catches her, he flings over his horse. But there are also several Hunts which are led by a Huntress named Fru Gode, Fru Waur, Frau Holda, Berchta and her alpine sister Perchta with her Perchten. The Leader of the Host might be identified as one of the heroes of old, often Dietrich of Bern.

Different localities have their own stories connected with these appearances, and many a village has its "Toller Jägergraben" or "Muotesheergasse," indicating the company's habitual route. Sometimes children who had died unbaptised, and recently departed public sinners, were seen in the retinue. And despite the horrifying nature of this procession of ghosts and demons, the people awaited it with eager anticipation, because its coming brought fertility to field and flock. The troop typically appeared during the holy twelve nights between Christmas and Epiphany, and in Germany also at Carneval and sometimes on the eve of other important feasts[4].

3.2. Legend, Myth, and Cult.

3.2.1. Review of the scholarship.

Otto Höfler showed, in *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, 1934[5], that Host and Hunt can be explained by actual cult practices of the Wodan religion[6], but more: that the spectral troops which Wodan leads--

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4. Otto Höfler, *Verwandlungskulte, Volkssagen und Mythen.* (Öst. Akad. Sb. 279.Band, 2. Abhandlung. Wien, 1973; henceforth *VK*) 86-91; Jan de Vries, "Contributions to the Study of Othin" *FFC* 94 (1931) 24-30; Flasdieck 283-330; *TM*.

5. Frankfort a.M.: Diesterweg. Henceforth *KGG*.

6. And by other cultic practices, proper to the same times of the year, which understandably got conflated with the Wodan cult once the significance of these pagan rites had been forgotten; and a few late accretions which are also easily explained.

the Host, the Hunt, and his Einheriar--had as counterpart living bands of ecstatic warriors, young men of flesh and blood in cultic union with the dead warriors of their nation's past. Höfler's embrace of National Socialism severely damaged his credibility with the learned community; it is also true that KGG is a youthful, exhuberant, sprawling, and often frustrating work. Flasdieck's criticism of KGG (in his "Harlekin") is never unfair, including the parenthesis "bei deren Lektüre man immer wieder an die unmittelbare Gegenwart denken muß;" but in fact folklorists, notably Karl Meuli in Switzerland, were already coming to the same conclusions concerning "*Sage*" and "*Brauchtum*", and connecting the pagan cult of the dead (*Totenkult, Ahnenkult*) with the masked processions of Christmastide and the masks and orgies of Carneval[7].

This is not to imply that no one had made these connections before Höfler, or rather before Höfler's forerunner Lily Weiser[8]. To single out only the most brilliant, Ludwig von Schroeder had linked the *Seelenheer* of German lands with the horde of spooks and goblins in the thiasos of the Indian god Rudra in "Bemerkungen zu Oldenbergs Religion des Veda"

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7. "Bettelumzüge im Totenkultus, Opferritual und Volksbrauch," 1927. Meuli continued to develop this topic over the course of many years; apart from his article on masks for Bächtold-Stäubli *HB*, the articles are collected under the heading "Zum Maskenwesen" in volume 1 of *Gesammelte Schriften*, hrsg v. Thomas Gelzer (Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1975).

8. *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde* (Bühl/Baden: Konkordia, 1927).

in 1895, and in *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 1908[9], he connected the flesh and blood sword dancers of German lands and the Salii of the Mars cult with the mythical Maruts of India and suggested that at a very early period the Maruts, too, had been represented by young men who danced and sang. Earlier yet, K.Dilthey had seen the same features mirrored in the Wild Hunts of Artemis and Dionysos[10]. Jarl Charpentier, and following him J.Hauer, understood that, far from being a foreign and marginal group, the Vrātyas were at the center of Indian religion and religious history.[11]

What was lacking was a picture of the Männerbund in its rightful place at the center of the Indo-European warrior society. It was so fundamental that every daughter nation retained fragments of the picture, like pieces of a puzzle; but, as with a jigsaw puzzle, if the picture of the completed puzzle and the frame are missing, it is nearly impossible to make sense of the individual pieces, or even to know which pieces belong to it. The turn of the century saw the publication of several important ethnological studies of Männerbünde, masks, and rites of passage in

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9. "Bemerkungen...": *WZKM* 9 (1895) 109-132 and 225-253. *Mysterium...*: Leipzig: H. Haessel Verlag, 1908.

10."Die Artemis des Apelles und die wilde Jagd." *RM* 25 (1870) 321-336; "Tod des Pentheus, calenische Trinkschale." *Archäologische Zeitung* 31 (1874) 87-94.

11. Jarl Charpentier, "Über Rudra-Śiva." *WZKM* 23 (1909) 151-179; "Bemerkungen über die vrātya's." *WZKM* 25 (1911) 355-388. J.W.Hauer, *Die Vrātya*. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1927).

living African warrior and cattle-herding societies[12], which provided the frame and at least a similar picture, and moreover provided a social-scientific basis for studying phenomena that before had been handled only descriptively.

Henri Jeanmaire applied these findings to ancient Greece in *Couroi et Courètes*, 1939[13]. As Jeanmaire devoted some sixty pages in the middle of his book to a summary of his African sources, so Geo Widengren, in Sweden, spent the first seventy pages of *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*[14] on the African findings. Stig Wikander was inspired by *KGG* to write *Der arische Männerbund*, also 1938[15], which was itself an impetus to further study. Widengren returned to the Männerbund in 1969 with *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*[16]. Andreas Alföldi took it up in *Die* Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates, 1974[17]. Finally, in 1987, two very important works appeared on the subject, a book, *Bruderschaft und*

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12. The *locus classicus* is Heinrich Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin: Reimer, 1902). The scope of this book is world-wide; the cattle-herding societies of Africa serve as our model for IE society.

13. Lille: Bibliothèque Universitaire.

14. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1938: 6.

15. Lund: Håkan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei.

16. Köln & Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

17. Heidelberg: Winter.

Würfelspiel by Harry Falk[18], which we will be citing extensively in Part III, and the long article by Kim McCone, "Hund, Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen,"[19] which gives the complete picture for the IE world. Meanwhile, folklorists and historians of religion were investigating ancestor cults, the ecstatic experience, rites of passage and other elements of the complex, and the New Comparative Mythology of Dumézil and his followers had led to a whole new way of looking at the pagan gods. The result is that it is no longer possible to dismiss Höfler's findings in *KGG*. All the research has not only reinforced them but found the same things all over Indogermania, wherever there is any information at all concerning cult or myth. Höfler himself continued to write on the subject of the Wodan religion to the end of his life.

3.2.2. The Dead and the Living.

These stories (*Sagen*) of a wild host or hunt go back, not to the howling of the winter wind or the barking cries of migrating birds, nor to personal difficulties such as epilepsy, hallucinations, or drunkenness, but to actual cult processions of maskers, the direct descendants of which are the Carneval and Mardi Gras processions of our own time. In pre-Christian times these had a deep religious significance; behind the cult acts (*Bräuche*) were what Höfler called "core myths" (*Kern-Mythen*)[20]. First there is the universal belief that there is something in man which is

18. Freiburg: Hedwig Falk.

19. As Chapt.2, N21.

20. Höfler *VK* 12f.

of a higher, even a divine, origin. Then there is the wide-spread belief that a divine or holy force is at work in the miracle of growth. Just as general, it would seem, is the belief that there is something in man which is not destroyed by physical death. And that which lives on is not the conventional modern idea of a soul as some bodiless puff (*Hauchseele*): what lives on is the life force (*Lebenskraft*) itself[21]. And despite all evidence to the contrary, this force is believed to live on in its own body. It is the person himself who lives. And he is now immortal, for he cannot die again.

Three features, writes Meuli, govern the primitive's conception of the dead person: He continues to live. He is powerful. He is at once well disposed and malicious[22]. The third indicates an emotional ambivalence on the part of the living members of society toward the dead member, which is only enhanced by the second which indicates that the dead man can be very dangerous, although he can also be a valued helper and defender. This ambivalence is universal, but in some societies it is fear of the dead which predominates, while in others it is the desire to remain in communion with the dead, who are felt to have an interest in the well-being of their family and tribe.

Among the Indo-Europeans it is the second attitude which prevailed, as also among the African tribes in the studies mentioned

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21. Kurt Ranke, *Indogermanische Totenverehrung*, *FFC* 140 (1951) 204. Ranke discusses concepts of life after death as revealed in the customs of the IE peoples; his work, where it touches on Höfler's, reinforces it. For attitudes towards death and the dead cross-culturally see Meuli, *GS* I, 303-332.

22. Ib. 303.

above. Their Dead are the honored ancestors, but they are more: they are the Immortals, in whom the life-force, that divine spark, is far more potent and efficacious now that they are no longer mortal. In fact it is the dead **warriors** with whom we are concerned. Whether the man has died in battle or of old age, he lives on as the warrior in the prime of his youth; naturally: it is in the young warrior that the life-force manifests itself most abundantly. Such immortal warriors are the Einheriar of the preceding chapter.[23]

3.3. Age Sets and Ancestor Cult.

In the African warrior and cattle-herding societies studied, males were divided into three or four age classes. There might be a class of

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23. While they lived on as warriors, it was by no means necessary for them to have died in battle. Their original character, that of powerful and helpful Ancestors, lives on in the notion of their fighting alongside the gods against the forces of chaos. As the motif developed in the North, their help will be of no use to us, for this earth and everything on it, as well as Odin's generation of gods, will be destroyed; but it is this which is late, not the Einheriar; see *KGG* 282. Wikander sees the same conception in early Iran in the *fravasis*: "die Totenseelen als das Totenheer, das in den Kämpfen der Lebenden sich beteiligt" *AM* 63. Karl Hauck remarks concerning the Sutton Hoo site, "Wenn dem toten Herrscher in sein Grab auch seine Standarte mitgegeben wurde, so darf man jedenfalls im Bereich wodanistischer Religion erwägen, ob seine Zeit sich den Herrscher nicht als Führer einer Toten-Gefolgschaft gedacht hat." His time was early Christian, but the idea of the dead ruler as "Totenführer im Totenheer" would not die out so quickly. "Herrschafts-zeichen eines Wodanistischen Königtums," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 14 (1954) 24.

elders, men who were past their fighting years, whose wisdom and experience were still of great value to the tribe[24]. There was the class of mature married men. These had wives and children and herds of cattle; they carried on the business of the tribe and, in the event of war, were the organized, disciplined fighting force of their people.

At the very bottom were the little boys, who really still belonged with the women and were not part of the system. At some point before puberty, these little boys were taken from the world of women to be trained in the fighting skills and the lore of their people and initiated into the world of men. They would be the scouts, the guerilla fighters: highly mobile bands of ecstatic warriors who would fling themselves first into the fray. In our study of Germania and the IE world, this is the group that will concern us, the group which we have called, with McCone, the **koryos*[25].

The age at which the boys underwent this first rite of passage differs from group to group. We know that at Sparta they were seven; there is good evidence that they were very young in ancient India (s.III). The severity of the hardships to which the boys were subjected varied as

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24. In point of fact, the existence of a class of elders meant that the society had reached a stage of relative oppulence and stability. If victuals were scarce and competition for Lebensraum was intense, Nestor's wisdom would be an unaffordable luxury.

25. For age-group systems generally, Schurtz 83-201; Frank Henderson Stewart, *Fundamentals of Age-Group Systems* (New York: Academic Press, 1977). For Indogermania, Widengren, *Feudalismus* 92-95; and our 6 and 7.

well, but in a highly structured and successful warrior society like that of the Masai of even fifty years ago, the training was long and rigorous, and there is no reason to think it was any different for the Indo-Europeans. Typically, for a good part of the period the boy lived in the forest like the beasts of the forest; he became a hardy and krafty hunter and fighter. But that was only part of becoming a man of his people. As a family man and citizen he would have to know the correct prayers and cultic practices, as well as the history of his tribe. This was knowledge, *veda*, long before there were written Vedas.

It is not possible here to go into every permutation of this system. Important for us is that the *passage* was from the limbo world of women and other non-initiates into the set of the men of the tribe, all the men who had ever lived. Initiation involved a real death; the child died, and a man of the tribe was born. "If initiation is described as a process of death and rebirth, then this death is, of course, a ritual death. But that is the only real death, since only the sacred reality is really real and meaningful[26]." Höfler summarizes what has happened to the boy: Once initiated, he belongs to the dead ancestors, who are the immortals. The initiate is "more real" than the uninitiated. His physical death is meaningless.[27]

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26. Johannes Snoek, *Initiations. A Methodological Approach to the Application of Classification & Definition Theory in the Study of Rituals.* (Pijnacker: Dutch Efficiency Bureau, 1987) 104.

27. *KGG* 252. If initiation is a "real" death, then real death is also an initiation into "a new mode of being." Mircea Eliade, "Mythologies of Death: An Introduction." *Religious Encounters with Death*. Frank

We will have a lot more to say on this subject in the next chapter. It is time to return to the Furious Host and the cult practices behind the legend.

3.4. Masks.

It is of the nature of the dead that they are not seen[28]. One very important function of the young initiates, the **koryos*, was to make the dead seen at those times of the year when they are most active. It is too little to say that they represent the dead (darstellen). They actually make them present (vergegenwärtigen). They **are** the dead[29].

3.4.1. Masks and ancestor cult.

The means by which they become the dead are Masks. By mask we do not necessarily mean something which covers the face. The most primitive form of masking is simply painting the face (and body)[30]. And

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E.Reynolds & Earle E. Waugh, Eds. (University Park: The Pennsylvania U.P., 1977) 16.

28. The dead who are seen in the sagas are *draugar*, an unnatural and unhealthy condition, and no one wants them around; they are spooks. This is something completely different. On the subject of the unseen dead, and the unseen *god* of the dead: Hermann Güntert, *Kalypso*. (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1919). The dead and their god have much in common.

29. "...die verwandlungskultische Selbstidentification mit verehrten Toten, also eine kultische Gemeinschaftsstiftung mit unsterblich gedachten Toten." Höfler, *VK* 13.

30. Tacitus' blackened Harii are masked in this wise; ashes and water are readily available to this purpose. The naked men of Harlech in their

while we have, from Scandinavia, representations of cultic dancers wearing very realistic wolfs' heads and fur garments reaching to the knees, as in the helmet plate from Torslunda described in I.3.2 above, other masks consist of (or are made to look like?) parts of an animal's head, or the whole head with the jaws agape and the masker's face showing, as in pictures of Herakles in his lion skin or Hades in his κυνῆ. Still others might be just a cap of animal skin or of the actual top of the animal's head. Meuli argues convincingly that the *pilleus,* the felt cap which was the symbol of freedom at the Saturnalia, was originally such a "mask."[31]. Other masks might simply be grotesque.

The animals which, in addition to the horse, are found in the Furious Host are the dog and wolf and often the bear. These are, of

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woad are another example. Meuli tells of Australian tribes which have fully developed ancestor cults such as we will be describing without progressing beyond the stage of face and body painting. (*GS* I 72 n2)

31. *GS* I 269. One of the three forms of the *pilleus*, according to Suetonius, is the *galerus*. "*galerus, galear,* zu *galea* = γαλέη, ist ursprünglich die Tierkopfhaube aus Wieselfell wie κτιδέη, λυκέη, κυνέη, αἰγέη, λεοντῆ diejenige aus Wiesel-, Wolfs-, Hunds-, Ziegen-, Löwenfell..." (GS 269). These are all warrior animals; let us not forget Juno as a goatskin-clad warrior goddess; for weasel-(more likely wolverine-) warriors see Alföldi, Struktur 37ff. Pre-Augustinian bronze statuettes show the *lar* wearing a cap like the *pilleus*, though it was probably of dog-skin. "Die *Lares praestites*, sagt Plutarch, hatten einen Hund neben sich und waren selbst mit Hundefellen bekleidet." (*GS* I 271 & Plate 25, p.281.) "Jedenfalls gewährte der Pilleus der Saturnalien Maskenrecht; schon darum muß er weit mehr gewesen sein als irgend ein Hut." (270)

course, precisely the animals that a Germanic warrior "became" when the *Kampf-Wut* came over him. The dog, the wolf, and the horse are also *Totentiere*, animals which are intimately associated with death in IE myth and iconography. This overlap is no coincidence, as we shall see. What must be stressed now is that the purpose of the masks is neither to make the masker look like an animal--even our fully masked wolf-dancer is clearly human, and everyone knows it, since his legs and hands are uncovered--nor is it to disguise the masker. The mask shows that the wearer is a dæmonic, or more-than-natural, being. He is no longer himself: he is an Ancestor[32].

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32. "Maskenbrauch wurzelt nun einmal, wo immer er erscheint, im Totenglaube und im Totenkult." Meuli *GS* I 275. This is one of those fascinating phenomena which can be demonstrated world-wide among peoples who cannot have been in contact for tens of thousands of years. Wherever there are mask cults, these are ancestor cults; the masks transform the wearer into an Ancestor. Meuli gives abundant examples of these cults in the Americas, in Africa, in Australia and in the Pacific islands. Evidently the practice answers a pressing universal human need. For the classical world, esp. Italy, see Franz Altheim, *Terra Mater* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1931): "Maske und Totenkult" 48-65; "Oscilla" 65-91.

Among the early Germans, the names of the masks reveal what they were felt to be. The following is from Meuli *GS* I, 81-93.

Walapauz. (Lang.) "Welcher Art dieser Schreckgeist ist, ergibt sich aus *walu (wala-, walo-)*: es weist bestimmt auf ahd. *walu-* 'die Erschlagenen auf dem Schlachtfelde'." The second part may be related to NHD Butz, "Kobold," (AHD pôzan, klopfen).

Masca. (Lang.) In the Edictum Rothari 197, it is forbidden to kill a woman *quasi strigam quam dicunt mascam*. "Im Langobardischen

So, whether the youth is wearing a full or partial animal skin or has blackened his own skin with ashes, or whitened it with gypsum, it is no

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bezeichnet *masca* zunächst einen unholden Geist, der ähnlich wie die römischen Strigen lebende Menschen innerlich auffrißt...Zugleich muß aber das Wort auch 'Gesichtsverhüllung', 'Vermummter' bedeutet haben, wie aus dem späteren Sprachgebrauch, aber auch aus frühangelsächsischen Glossen (7.Jh.?), die *mascus, masca* gleich *grîma, egesgrîma*... setzen, unwiderleglich hervorgeht."

Talamasca. (Lang.) *dalamasca, thalamascha.* "Allgemein sieht man darin das Verbum *dalen, dallen, talmen* 'kindische, läppische Dinge reden...," the way spirits talk, or the possessed [or youths who have just been reborn through initiation]. For *masca* and *talamasca* see also Güntert, *Kalypso* 114f.; in the AHD glosses, Ranke 213f.

AHD ***hagazussa***, whence NHD Hexe. Like *masca=striga*, she recalls the female demon which is often the quarry of the Hunt.

AHD ***hagu-, haga-bart***, MHD ***hagebart.*** Used as synonym of *schembart* and *larva*. The meaning is disputed.

AHD ***scema; Schembart.*** "Zu ahd. *scînan* 'scheinen', weiterhin zu griechisch σκιά gehörig, heißt es 'Schein, Erscheinung, Schattenbild', nhd. *Schemen*, und bezeichnet als solches gewiß ein Seelenwesen, wie latein. *umbra*, griech. σκιά...; eine 'Schattenseele', wenn man will." In early glosses it meant "Gespenst, Dämon;" later it was glossed "Gesichtsmaske": "das Seelenwesen wird auch hier durch Maskierte dargestellt. Die Maske heißt dann mhd. *schemehoubet*, bayr. *schemhawpt, schiemhaupt* oder *schembart*....Für die Zeit des Schembart-Laufens ist das eben angeführte schweizerische Zeugnis für das Ende des Hirtenjahres (Alpentladung) als offenbar hochaltertümlich sehr wichtig."

AHD ***grîma.*** "Wie ahd. *scîmo* zu *scînan*, so steht *grîma* zu *grînan* 'das Gesicht verzehren'...Die Glosse *scenici. grîmun* bezeugt ein *crîma* in der uns geläufigen Bedeutungsentwicklung 'Vermummter, Possenreisser'; die Bedeutung 'Maske' (auch 'Helm mit Maske') hat es im Altnordischen bewahrt."

"Schweiz. *tsengrind*, aus *îsengrim*, mit leicht verständlicher Umdeutung

longer he who is present, who is acting[33]. "Die Geister nun äußern sich vielfach so, daß sie von Lebenden Besitz ergreifen, um durch sie zu sprechen und zu handeln: sie machen besessen. *larvatus* ist ein ausgezeichnetes Beispiel für diese Vorstellung; *larvatus* heißt der von den *larvae* Besessene, ein Wahnsinninger, Behexter. Besessene, freilich im religiösen, nicht im medizinischen Sinn, sind die bei solchen Festen häufigen Maskenträger."[34] "Such feasts" are Yule and Carneval, Saturnalia and Compitalia, Anthesteria and Dionysia, each a form of the Visitation of the Ancestors[35]. Why do they visit? Certainly not out of nostalgia for the world they left. No, but because they care about their descendants. For it is they, the ancestors, who gave us not only our lives but our way of life, our customs and ordinances. So they return, at certain times of the year, to guard the order which they themselves established *in illo tempore*. This is why, in every land where they

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auf *grind* 'Kopf', da die Maske offenbar helmähnlich den ganzen Kopf bedeckte, also 'Eisengespenst, Eisenmaske'..."

Lastly the ***Perchten***, whose name derives from the time of year, AHD *zu dero perahtun naht*, that is, Christmas or Twelfth-Night, Meuli 286.

33. Black, like "Das schwarze Heer der Harier," or white, like "Das weiße Heer der Phoker," Ludwig Weniger, "Feralis exercitus," *ARW* 9 (1906) 201-247 and 10 (1907) 229-256, since white is, as much as black, a color of death; Weniger's famous study has it only half right.

34. Meuli, *GS* I 268.

35. "Besuchfest der toten Ahnen," Meuli *GS* I 296, cf Eliade Mythologies 17; Schurtz 356f.

appear, the young men's bands are responsible for social and civic order[36].

The Ancestors require a religious devotion. Not everyone is able to participate in the Sacred; therefore a Warner goes before them, telling people to clear the streets, or they wear bells or sound noise-making instruments. This devotion will take a material form: they expect to be wined and dined; in Germanic lands they display a great thirst for beer. It is their right to break into a house or inn, indeed to ride their horses right through the door, and take whatever they want. If they receive the required devotion and find everything in order, they will shower the village or farm with blessings for the coming year. If they do not, their punishment is swift and brutal: they will pull the roof and doors off the house; in extreme cases they will reduce the house to rubble and put salt in the well[37].

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36. And why, where they evolve from pure age-group systems to closed societies or Geheimbünde, they frequently evolve into secret police; examples in Schurtz 362-367.

37. [D]as Zerstören oder Abdecken des Daches, das Zerstören oder Aushängen der Tür im mittelalterlichen Europa und darüber hinaus [sind] weit verbreitete ernsthafte Rechtsstrafen gewesen; der Volksjustiz sind sie bis ins 20. Jahrhundert geläufig gewesen. Nun sind Dachabdecken, Türaushängen und Brunnenwüsten oft verbunden mit dem löschen des Herdfeuers..., resp. dem Einschlagen des Bachofens...; da hätten wir also nichts anderes als die *tecti et aquae et ignis interdictio*, wie die alten Römer sagten, die Ächtung; so erhält die berühmte Formel einen neuen, ganz konkreten Sinn. In der Tat läßt sich auch sonst zeigen, daß die angeführten Strafen wirklich Ächterstrafen, resp. aus Ächterstrafen hervorgegangen sind. (Meuli *GS* I 294; cf.247ff)
Meuli gives examples of this practice, or resonances thereof, throughout

The youths are possessed; they believe they are the Dead. What about everyone else? Don't they know that these are their own sons and brothers? This is the part that is hardest for us to comprehend. Writes Meuli, "die Versuche des Menschen, seinem Erlebnis des *mysterium tremendum fascinosum* Gestalt zu geben, haben immer wieder zu seltsamen, uns grotesk anmutenden Formen geführt, und doch bringen sie für ihre Verehrer das Numinose zu überzeugendem Ausdruck."[38] The forms these experiences take are as foreign to Judaism and (biblical) Christianity, to both of which the experience of the *mysterium tremendum* is central, as to the a-religious modern who denies its existence. We simply have to take the word of ethnologists who have studied this phenomenon as living belief that indeed all the members of the community were cult-participants; there simply were no "spectators" who could say, Heck, that's only the kid from next-door[39].

Where our comprehension is if anything even more strained is when

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Indogermania and concludes, "Nach allem müssen also diese Achterstrafen wohl indogermanisches Erbe sein; ihr Erscheinen im Maskenrecht verschiedener indogermanischer Völker stützt die Annahme, auch das Maskenwesen selbst reiche in so hohes Altertum zurück." (295)

38. Meuli, *GS* I 297.

39. What is involved is a "fester Glaube an eine wirkliche Verwandlung, an ein Eingehen in den Totenzustand. Dafür spricht das Erlebnisgefühl sowohl der Brauchtumsträger wie der mehr oder minder beteiligten Zuschauer. Gerade die Berichte der Letzteren betonen ja immer wieder, daß es Tote sind, die in diesen Kulten agieren und keine menschlichen Darsteller oder Maskenträger." Ranke 205.

we see these customs persisting long after the original religious content is lost. The Host, the Hunt, the Perchten, the Oskarei and the rest persisted in many places at least into the beginning of this century, and people really believed the rides brought blessings, even though they also knew that village youths were behind the masks[40]. Now I want to return to the stories of the Host and Hunt, because by now we have seen where many of the elements come from.

The armed men are the most obvious component of the Host; armed men who fight one another recall the Einheriar. Oddly, this is an element which dropped out. The blackened men are the *feralis exercitus*, Wodan's dæmonic warriors, who are the Dead. We have briefly explained the dogs and wolves; the Canidae are so important symbolically to that aspect of Germanic and IE culture on which this study is focused that they require a chapter to themselves. As to the werewolves who stole beer and food, they were exercising their *sakraler Stehlrecht*. The Warner, we have seen, went before to protect people from contact with the sacred.

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40. As opposed to Mardi Gras and other celebrations which continue only because they are fun. Höfler explains this at length in *Verwandlungskulte* 45-49. Dumézil's handling of the whole matter of belief, on the part of maskers and onlookers alike, *Les Problèmes de Centaures* (Paris: Geuthner, 1929) 48f, comes very close to Huizinga's understanding of "play" as set forth in the first chapter of *Homo Ludens* (Boston: Beacon, 1955). "Wesentlicher als die Frage, was da im einzelnen 'wirklich' geschieht, ist die Wirkung auf ein aufnahmewilliges Publikum." Walter Burkert, "ΓΟΗΣ. Zum griechischen 'Schamanismus'" (*RM* NS 105 [1962]) 42.

3.4.2. Demon horses.

Then there were the demon-horses. These were of course masks, and could be: (two legs) a man wearing a horse mask and a white cloth, or one man riding a stick horse, with a white cloth representing the horse's body and only the man's two legs representing the horse's legs; (three legs) a horse's head, wooden or otherwise, on a stick held by a man, again covered in white, leaning on the stick, his upper body horizontal to represent the horse's body; six or eight legged horses were made up of three or four men covered in white, the first one holding or wearing a horse's head; there are also headless horses (and headless horsemen!)[41] Obviously realism is not the point; there were plenty of real horses[42], although these too, if not white (*Weißschimmel*), might be covered with a white sheet. The "wrong" number of legs indicates that this is a demonic being. The Leader is often called *der Schimmelreiter*, and Odin, on his eight-legged grey stallion Sleipnir, is the Schimmelreiter *κατ' ἐξοχήν*[43].

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41. Richard Wolfram, "Robin Hood und Hobby Horse." *WPZ* 19 (1932) 357-374.

42. These could take on a great importance. See Richard Wolfram, "Die Julumritte im germanischen Süden und Norden." *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2 (1937) 6-28.

43. Taking together the Centaurs with their human upper bodies and horses' bodies and the Gandharvas with their human bodies and horses' heads, Dumézil concluded that there had been an IE cultic brotherhood of horse-maskers. The myths surrounding these beings make this appear likely, and folklore survivals would place the rites at the winter solstice; see *Centaures* passim, esp. Chapt. 1, and Jeanmaire, *Couroi* 247ff. Our

Malten's 1914 article "Das Pferd im Totenglauben" is still the most

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northern horse masks would be part of the same picture (see esp. Wolfram, Robin Hood). As we have seen, the masks are not attempting to be realistic. The principle can be thought of as *pars pro toto*, perhaps, as long as we keep in mind that the whole which is here represented is no ordinary wolf or horse but a supernatural–demonic–being.

Now horse-masks, in the Germanic world at least, are often found in the same cultic milieu as sword-dances; the hobby-horse, sword-dance and cultic brotherhoods were studied exhaustively by Richard Wolfram. But in Romania, at least until the thirties of this century, a similar dance was performed by an initiated brotherhood called the *căluşari*: *căluş*, a little horse, and the suffix *ar* = "the little horse-dancers." (R. Vuia, "The Roumanian Hobby-Horse, the Căluşari," *JEFDSS* 2 [1935] 97. On the same group: Mircea Eliade, "Some European Secret Cults," *Festgabe für Otto Höfler*, Helmut Birkhan, ed. [Wien/Stuttgart: Braumüller, 1976] 196-200.) At the time the dance was performed for the English Folk-Dance Society, the men were wearing predominantly white Sunday clothes, but in the past they used to wear women's clothes. The dance was performed around Whitsuntide, "when the fairies are most dangerous to people;" the dancers personified the fairies and also propitiated them (100f). A nineteenth century description indicates that the first dancer carried in his hands a carved horse-head (98). The writer calls attention to a similar dance performed in Central Prussia on the third day of Whitsuntide by a group of male and female dancers who go in procession from house to house, receiving gifts; with them is "a person like an artificial horse" called *Schimmelritter* (104). I am not about to suggest I know what all this might mean. The "fairies" could well be the spirits of the dead (or these plus assorted autochthonous spirits left over from pagan times, which, as we know, tend to remain in place long after the old gods have all departed.) The time of year is wrong for an ancestor cult, the mixed men and women even worse; ritual transvestism is common cultic practice; it looks as if pieces of one cult got broken off and recombined with pieces of other, properly summer or first-fruits, cults. This is not at all uncommon, once the original religious content of the practices has been forgotten.

Putting all this together with the *kallikantzari*, the folkloric descendents

complete study of the subject[44]. Centered on Greece, and amply illustrated with photographs of pottery and steles, it also brings in comparative material. The horse is one of the favorite forms under which "chthonic powers" manifest themselves. Horses are connected with both Hades and the "chthonic" Poseidon, that is Poseidon the Earthshaker, before he moved into the ocean[45]. Death-demons are pictured riding or driving; they can snatch people and carry them off to their realm. (Odin/Wodan snatches people. One of these was Dietrich of Bern, which is why he sometimes leads the Host as an Odin surrogate.) There are also demonic horses which deliver their masters to the powers of death, as Pegasos did Bellerophontes[46]. The divinity can ride the horse or be the horse, but "das Totenroß ist ursprünglicher als die Gottheit."[47] The horse can be psychopomp; steles often show the dead man on horseback, and some of these at least must be, like the Scandinavian carvings showing the mounted hero being welcomed to Valhalla, showing the dead man riding

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of the Centaurs discussed by Dumézil and Jeanmaire, and our Germanic horse-masks, we conclude, whatever it all means, that the demon horse has IE roots which are wide-spread and deep.

44. *Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts* XIX, 179-256. Of course Malten acknowledges that this is only one side of the horse. The other side is the divine horse, das Sonnenroß, the Dioskuroi: the white horse as radiant rather than spectral. For the Gmc. side, Walther Steller, "Phol ende Wodan," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* NF 2 (1930) 61-71.

45. Malten 196.

46. Ib. 197.

47. Ib. 208f.

into the au-delá[48]. People sometimes appear after their deaths as ghost-horses; like the death-god, the dead can either ride or be the horse. "Der Töter wie der Tote erscheinen nach ältester Anschauung in der Gestalt des gespenstigen Pferdes;"[49] in this the horse is like *canis*.

3.4.3. The Rider-god.

Thus we see the horse as Totentier, the white or grey horse as the ghost horse, the horse-mask with two few or two many legs representing the demon-horse, and we see Odin as the rider of the demon-horse. Odin is indeed the Rider-God. His names are **Atriðr** (4), he who rides out to battle, "den som rier frem til kamp (jfr. *atreið* 'angrep til hest')" and **Fráriðr** (31), "der Fortreitende" (Simek), or Swift-rider ("adj. *frár* 'rask, hurtig'...men da dette ord ikke finnes bruk om ritt")[50]. But he is also **Reiðartýr**, Chariot-god (111), reminding us that IE warriors and their gods were chariot drivers long before they became riders[51].

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48. Ib. 234f. 49. Ib. 235; cf. Höfler, *KGG* 37ff.

50. Let us recall what was said above (I.2.1) about names. Whether or not *frár* is normally used of riding is immaterial.

51. cf. Dutch *Woens waghen* = Ursa major (Hj. Falk, 24). Cf. also Gerd Wolfgang Weber, "Odins Wagen. Reflexe altnordischen Totenglaubens in literarischen und bildlichen Zeugnissen der Wikingerzeit," *FMS* 7 (1973) 88-99. Weber corrects *rungnis* to *rögnis* = Odin's in Sigrdrífumál 15,6: [runes are carved] *á því hvéli, er snýz undir reið Rungnis (Rögnis)*, on that wheel which turns under Odin's chariot, and reproduces a carving from Levide K showing a typical welcoming-to-Valhall scene: the Valkyrie, the drinking horn, the dog (Totenhund), the

Considering what was said above, we will not be surprised to find *heiti* which are horse names. **Jalkr** (92) appears fairly frequently in both prose and poetry, and indeed Odin calls himself twice by this name in Grímnismál: 49,3 Odin says he called himself *Iálc*[52] *at Ósmundar*, i.e. this is the name he gave out while staying with Asmund, but then, in the climactic final stanza, he says he is called *Gautr oc Iálcr með goðom* (54,6), and if this is a name that he uses among the gods, it must mean that it is an actual cult-name[53]. Now Jalkr means gelding and has therefore aroused a certain amount of comment. Falk, remarking that stallions at the height of their procreative powers were sacrificed to Freyr for increase of flock and field, suggests that Jalkr as an Odin-name probably means "something else."[54] My own suggestion is that, at the time in the preliterary past when Odin acquired the name, it did not mean gelding. Terms for barnyard animals seem to be particularly fluid. NHD Hengst, for example, means "stallion," its Scandinavian cognates, Dan. hest, Sw. häst, NIc. hestur simply "horse." De Vries (WB) gives nSw.

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horse, and the warrior, but the warrior is not riding the horse: he is seated in a small cart. Cf. Steller, Phol 66.
Odin appears once as driver: for Harald Wartooth, who is too old to ride into battle. Odin has already betrayed the king by revealing the wedge formation, his gift to Harald, to the enemy; then he tosses his old protegé out of the cart and clubs him to death with his own weapon. Saxo Bk VIII (Fisher 243).

52. Neckel has á; Falk, de Vries *WB*, and Sijmons-Gering all have a.

53. Hj.Falk 20; cf Steller 62.

54. Odensheite 40.

dial *jálk*, stallion and Ork. *yaager* horse[55]. Other horse-heiti are **Hrosshársgrani** (83)[56], and probably **Brun** (14) and **Vakr** (152)[57].

Two more Odinsheiti need to be mentioned here. **Grímr, Grímnir** (47-48), from *gríma*, mask, in Grm. and thulur, would seem to refer to Odin's love of disguises, but, given the connection of the ecstatic brotherhoods to masks, probably has a deeper underlying meaning; in fact, I think it likely that the stories of Odin incognito were inspired by the name, rather than vice versa[58]. **Jólnir** (94), in Þórsdr., thulur and

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55. German Stute is mare; Eng. stud is Ger. Gestut, a breeding farm, but a "stud horse" is always a breeding stallion, not a mare. Stier in Ger. is bull, the Eng. steer has been castrated; Ger. Widder is ram, the Eng cognate wether is a castrated goat or sheep. These examples, along with a little reflection on the number of horse terms which have slipped in and out of the language over the years, should show that not much can be made of Jalkr = gelding. If Jalkr meant "horse," it was as good a name as Úlf or Hunding, or for that matter Hengist and Horsa. It was in any event an established divine name.

56. In the thulur and in Gautreks saga, where Odin as Starkad's foster-father calls himself Grani and Hrosshársgrani. Grani, according to de Vries (*WB*), means "'pferd', eig. pferd mit eigentümlich behaarter oberlippe;" grön, f. is "barthaar, schnurrbart; lippe." Grani was the name of the horse of the hero Sigurd; he was a son of Sleipnir. (This is presumably where de Vries gets his horse, which is otherwise unknown.) *Gráni* would be "the grey," that is, the Schimmel itself. Falk thinks Grani Sleipnisson is the basis of **Rauðgrani** (109), too ("egentl. med rødt munnskjegg"), and that this is a horse-name.

57. Vakr is attested as a horse's name according to Sijmons-Gering. Árvakr is one of the two horses which draw the sun-chariot.

58. And à-propos our mask-names, let us recall the Odinsheite Hárbarðr

prose, connects the god to the great solstice feast of Yule, the main feast for maskers.

3.4.4. The Ancestors bring blessings.

We have now discussed all the elements of the stories of the Wild Hunt which properly belong to the cult of Odin. Before moving on to those elements which have gotten mixed in from somewhere else, it should be noted that the Ancestors, as a part of their ongoing concern for their descendents, are thought to bring blessings to family, flock and field. This is why the Hunt was believed propitious, and why people welcomed it despite the chaos and even danger that came with it, an attitude which persisted long after religious practice had become mere folk custom, as Höfler, Meuli, Wolfram and others have amply attested. The **koryos* brings increase for the same reason it brings order: because it makes the Ancestors present among their people. And so, while the fertility aspects of the cult became all-important, after the conversion, among the country people who kept up these practices, they were always present. When Turville-Petre writes that the existence of place-names in *akr* and *vin* compounded with Odin's name "suggest that for some people, at one time, Óðinn was god of fertility, rather than the ruthless god of kings, champions, perjurers and poets, which he appears to be

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(63) and Langbarðr (101). Odin's hoary beard was part of his favorite disguise, while Langbarðr identifies him with the Langobards. But *-bart* in *Schembart, Isenbart* = mask, not beard, cf *Isengrim*, Grímr. Was Odin "der Maskengott"? I believe so.

in the literary sources"[59] he is missing this point[60].

3.5. Feasts of the Changing Year.

We know that cult processions formed an important part of the great feasts in the IE world; descriptions of these processions, especially those connected with the feasts of Dionysos, have come down to us from Greece, and in *Mahābhārata* VII, 2026ff there is a particularly vivid description of a feast preceded by such a procession, which, led by bands of ecstatics, goes about in the land spreading blessings and increase. We know, too, that these great feasts encompassed every aspect of community life, and every group, or representatives of every group, participated, each group having its own important role to play. Likewise there are fertility rites in every great feast, even in societies which are not primarily agricultural. If the women do not bear and the cows do not calve, the folk will not thrive even if the men are successful in battle. Thus it is not surprising to find weapon-dances and rain-dances as part of

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59. Gabriel Turville-Petre, "The Cult of Óðinn in Iceland" in *Nine Norse Studies* (London: Viking Society, 1972) 18.

60. Interesting that von Schroeder, who was the first to assert that the Maruts in the air corresponded to something on the ground, also had to separate out the fertility features. "Unser Schimmelreiter ist keine heruntergekommene Form jenes großen Gottes [Odins], sondern eine weit primitivere Vorstellung. Hier haben wir den alten Seelen- und Fruchtbarkeitsgott Wodan, aus welchem sich der nordische Odin erst verhältnismäßig spät so hoch hinauf entwickelt hat, noch als volkstümlichen Fruchtbarkeitsdämon vor uns, noch halb oder auch ganz theriomorphisch gedacht...." *M&M* 433.

the same celebration, or to find armed men in wolf-masks and a wagon bearing a sun-wheel in the same procession towards the cult site.

It is necessary only to read Hauer's reconstuction of the Indian *Mahāvrata* to get a picture of the many levels of cultic activity of a solstice feast[61]. There were athletic contests, as in ancient Greece; here, at least, a chariot race and an archery contest. An Arya and a Sudra battled for a white hide representing the sun, just as *in illo tempore* the gods and demons fought over the sun. The gods won, and the Aryan wins, assuring that the gods' victory is ongoing. There were ritual dialogues, crude varieties of the Verbal Contest. In one, two men alternately praised and reviled the sacrificers. The other was a phallic dialog between a whore (cult prostitute?) and a veda student. There was ritual copulation, originally, apparently, a free-for-all on the sacrificial grounds, later performed by a representative couple. Marriageable girls performed a rain-dance. And there were "shamanistic" elements involving the hotar priest's ecstatic experiences on a swing. And much more besides.

This is all worth noting because, although the feast described has already evolved from the original model[62], it is the earliest evidence we have of a very primitive IE festival–primitive, and yet extremely complex, with highly developed symbolism, obviously requiring the

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61. Hauer 246-296.

62. The *agones*, so important in Greece, were suppressed in India, and by the time of Hauer's sources the chariot race was a procession, and the archery had been reinterpreted as a form of rain-magic.

organisation of each group and then the choreographing of the feast as a whole. T.M.Br.XXIV says that the *daivā vrātyāh* were the original holders of these rites, that is, the divinized ancestors of the vrātyas, the Indian Männerbund which will engage us in Part III, founded them[63]. Hauer quotes the Commentator to Katy.Sr.S. XXII,4,3: "Bei diesen Festen waren geübte Sänger, Tänzer und (Zauber-) Waffenträger vonnöten, die in der Vratya Genossenschaft von besonderen Lehrmeistern ausgebildet wurden."[64]

Some of the features reported in the Hunt were undoubtedly part of the same feasts as the maskers, though belonging to a different cult. Among the Scandinavian rock-carvings are depictions of cult processions with wagons, ships drawn on sledges, and ploughs[65]. We know of a procession with a ship as part of the fertility cult of Nerthus on the Continent (*Germania* 40). Wheels representing the sun are transported on wagons; later these wheels seem to have been reinterpreted as Wheels of Fortune[66].

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63. Hauer 246. 64. Hauer 237.

65. All this is described minutely, and with illustrations, in Almgren and in Peter Gelling and H.R.E.Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

66. Sometimes the wheel has a man attached to it. It is not clear whether this is supposed to be the little fellow often seen on the Wheel of Fortune or someone undergoing some medieval torture, a soul-mate to the hanged men who appear and who really do have a connection to Odin, although what this was had surely been forgotten on the Continent in the Middle Ages. A middlegerman nighttime blessing warding off the Wild

Other elements must have come in later. While the Männerbünde disappeared with, if not before, the eradication of pagan worship, exclusive men's societies of other sorts, most notably the guilds, sprang up to fill the void. Thus we find handworkers carrying their tools or symbols of their trade. The acrobats and jugglers might seem a later addition, too, except for the fact that we find them in India in the thiasos of Rudra-Śiva. The sightings of men who had died a violent death, of public sinners and unbaptised children, can be dismissed as Christian folklore or part of the clerics' attempt to make an object lesson out of an old pagan practice they could not eliminate. In the same wise the Schimmelreiter became the Devil, the maskers demons, and stories were told of the Hunter as a fervent huntsman who used to skip Sunday mass to indulge his passion for the chase and was now condemned to ride through the skies for all eternity as recompense. But hanged men may well go back to the original cult; Odin was *Hangaguð* (59), *Hangatýr* (60), and *Hangi* (61), and it is not unlikely that Wodan was as well, since offerings were hung up for the god in sacred groves on the Continent. In addition, Odin was reputed to be the patron of all kinds of criminals and footpads, which could be dismissed as part of his later demonisation were not Rudra and Hermes also patrons of such rabble. It is obvious

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Hunt and other ghosts reads:

> Wutanes her und alle sine man,
> di di reder und di wit tragen
> geradebreht und erhangen
> ihr sult von hinnen gangen. Höfler *KGG* 117

that the mix of characters represented has very complex origins.

When we come to elements specific to the Hunt variant the situation becomes even more complicated. Höfler and others assume that the Host is the original, since Odin was a war-god but never a hunter-god. This is true, of course. The link could be *jagen* used intransitively (= rennen) to describe the Host's mad gallop[67], especially because the Hunt often has no prey. Once the talk was of "hunting," prey could be provided easily enough out of available folk-lore.

The Hart is the quintessential object of the fairy-tale hunt in both German and Celtic tales, while the demon might have belonged to an old fertility cult, or at least to ancient harvest folk-lore. On the other hand, hunting is an important aspect of the lives of the adolescents; some related gods, notably Rudra again, are Wild Hunters; and one has only to look to Ireland to see how important hunting can be in the mythology of the bands[68].

Then there is the question of the Wild Huntresses. These again could be dismissed as assorted demons who got attracted to the Host after

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67. The mad gallop, still a Yule custom in Scandinavia in the 1930's (Wolfram Julumritte), is itself magical, a kind of *Bewegungsritus*. ("Leben weckt Leben, Kraft weckt Kraft." Höfler *KGG* 289.)

68. When Beck refers to hunting as a "Sinnbild des Kampfes" (Stanzen 242) the statement is true for life as well as literature. Through hunting, along with raiding, the group of youths becomes a "Verband stets kampfbereiter Krieger" Schurtz 321. See chapt.7. Cf. OCS *zeno* "chase, hunt," = *θείνω*, *hánti*, etc. (Thanks to Prof. Jasanoff.)

it had become a Hunt and replaced the original Hunter, who no longer had any special significance. But Bede calls the Twelve nights *modra nect*![69] And there are Wild Huntresses in Greece: Artemis-Hekate leading a mad dash of spirits.[70] The lone Hunter with his hounds looks a lot like Arawn, Lord of Annwen, who has credentials with the dead but not the Männerbund. Finally it is necessary to add that the Huntresses, one or several, were portrayed by masked men or boys[71].

The processions, like processions to cult sites elsewhere, certainly had set routes which they traveled. As to the fiery-eyed demons, we know that large sugar beets were hollowed out, carved like jack-o-lanterns and fitted with little candles, and carried on poles in these processions[72].

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69. Ernst Alfred Philippson, *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1929) 66.

70. À propos of the etymology of N47, Artemis the Archeress was killer of women ere ever she became πότνια θηρῶν and a Huntress in the conventional sense; see Dilthey, Artemis *passim*; Martin Persson Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906) 226f., 394-397; Erwin Rohde, *Psyche* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1903) II, 82-87.

71. "Wie bei den Primitiven ist das Maskenwesen Sache der Männer,beziehungsweise der Männerbünde." (Meuli *GS* 162; Schurtz 357) Weiser points out close parallels between Perchta and the Perchten and Artemis and her following, 55 n48.

72. The reader may have recognised the origins of our Halloween customs: the feast of the Dead, the jack-o'-lantern, the maskers representing spirits of the dead and later also representatives of trades (cowboy, astronaut); the repulsive custom of Trick-or-Treat is of course the direct descendent of the Heischerecht. Even the age of the maskers has its parallel. Meuli cites a song of Rhodian boys, in which they

Obviously a lot of different meats and spices have gone into the soup. The base, though, is a set of elements belonging to Wodan and the cultic brotherhoods that followed him.

3.6. *Harlequin.*

In France the Host was called, in Latin sources, *familia Hellequini* and in OF *la maisnie Hellequin*[73], that is, the household or retinue of Harlequin. But who is this Harlequin? Certainly not the clown.

In his 1937 *Anglia* article, "Harlekin. Germanischer Mythos in romanischer Wandlung," Flasdieck traces the history of the name and character, then gives all hitherto suggested etymologies and explanations of the name. Then he gives his own etymology, which has been accepted ever since. His premiss is that the Germanic invaders of Britain brought the Host/ Hunt with them; their name for its Leader was taken over into Norman French and thence into Middle French.

C. 1181/2 there appeared the *fabula* of *Herla rex antiquissimorum*

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demand treats or they will pull the roof and doors off the house. The fact that they are citing a real practice of the brotherhoods (s.n.27) shows that what was now child's play had its origin in cult. (*GS* 40; s.a.295) These little jacks are also "masks;" cf. the Roman *oscilla*, Meuli 251ff. Masks do not have to be worn; in addition to these little heads, which were carried on sticks and hung up as votive offerings, there are the large marble masks of the Dionysos cult, s. Walther Wrede, "Der Maskengott," *Att.Mitt.* 1928.

73. "Die *maisnie Hellequin* begegnet zuerst bei Ordericus [Vitalis 1075-1143?] und bezeichnet das Wilde Heer," Flasdieck 253. (Every conceivable spelling of the name will be found in *TM* 941f.)

Britonum by Walter Map[74]. King Herla spent three days visiting a dwarf king in his mountain palace and discovered that two hundred years had passed up above. His host had given him a hound with the warning that no one must dismount before this hound had jumped down from the horse. Someone did and immediately turned to dust. Herla and his men are ever on the move; many claim to have seen them frequently. (251)

Herla cannot be Celtic. No corresponding OE PN is known but is perhaps found in the early ME family name *herel*. An OHG MPN *Herilo* is attested in several locations in the 9th century[75]. Herla occurs principally as the first element of English names. There is a Bishop *Herlewald* attested 744 in Glastonbury, a monk Harlewine at Bath in 1077, and more; also in OHG, such as Herlefrid, Herlolf; even FPN Herladrud, Harilpurc. There are numerous English place-names formed from this element. Personal names beginning with *erla-* also appear in England (312-315).

Flasdieck takes these names back to a **Haril(x)*, which he connects to the OHG PN *Harelunc* and corresponding English place-names formed from **Her(e)ling*, to the Harlungen-Saga, and to the *Herelingas* ("Herel(a)'s people") of Widsith 112. (317) "Wohl aber ist am ehesten in dem Namen *Herelingas*, wohl zuerst in Deutschland belegt als

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74. c.1140-c.1210, "the first English essayist," a friend of Henry II and Giraldus Cambrensis. Flasdieck 250f.

75. For St.Gallen, Chiemsee, Fulda, "vielleicht auch *Herlo* St.Gallen 771," and some other possibilities; "vgl. übrigens *Hereca* im 8. Jahrhundert, gebildet zu ae. *here* mit Deminutivsuffix -(i)ca..." 312.

Harelungi in der Ekkehard von Aura (an der fränk. Saale) zugeschriebenen *Weltchronik* kurz nach 1100, ein Hinweis zu finden. Dieser stellt sich zunächst dar als patronomische Bildung zu **Haril(x)*, kann also sowohl bedeuten 'Söhne des H.' wie auch 'Leute des H., Stamm der H.', gewährt aber auf jeden Fall den Ausgangspunkt des Personennamens **Haril(x).*" (321)

This name could be either an a- or an an-stem. OHG *Herilo* and Map's *Herla* suggest the latter; further "wegen afrz. *Herlekin* wird vornehmlich mit *an*-Stamm zu rechnen sein, **χarilan-*. Der Name gehört zweifellos zu germ. **χaria-* 'Heer'." (321)

The l-suffix would suggest a hypocoristic like Wulfila. But Flasdieck gives abundant examples from OE which would be hard to explain as diminutives (e.g. "*mān-for-dædla* 'Frevler' Beow. 563 zu *dæd* 'Tat' und poet. *genīþla* 'Feind' zu *nīþ* 'Streit'...). Many of these, like *bytla* "Baumeister" to *botl*, house, "stellen sich...neben die wohl älteren denominativen Nomina agentis auf *-eno-, -ono, - no-*, die von den Bereich der Amtstätigkeit bezeichnenden Nomina aus gebildet sind." He gives a list of OE names with this suffix and concludes, "Bemerkenswert ist, daß unter den Appellativen fast sämtliche personenbezeichnenden Nomina agentis zu einer engen Bedeutungsgruppe gehören; one might feel inclined...to style this word-formative element *the suffix of wandering professions*[76]. **χarilan-* bedeutet also wohl 'Heerführer'." (322f)

**Xarilan-* is thus a synonym of *Herjann*, discussed above, and fits

76. Citing Karl Kärre, *Nomina agentis in Old English,* Uppsala 1915, 74f.

with the other Odinsheiti compounded with *Her-: Herfǫðr, Herjafǫðr, Hertýr, Herteitr* (67-70). Flasdieck suggests that the name **Xarilan-*, which is not attested, suffered a semantic narrowing. "In mythologischer Sphäre wurde es zum Heerführer *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, zum 'Führer des Totenheeres' und damit in gewissem Sinne ein Beiname Wodans[77]." (325)

PGmc. **χaril-* became OE *herel-*, which then underwent syncope in the tenth century[78], giving Map's Herla (325). But Map also has a *Herlethingus*, which is "certainly a proper name." The Bodleian MS comes from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and it is likely that an original *ch* was changed to *th* somewhere in the course of MS transmission. This had already been suggested by Malone and others (327).

Then the second part of the name Harlekin would be OE *cyng, cyning,* king[79], taking us back to Map's *Herla rex*. Woden is *Herla cyng*

77. Flasdieck suggests the possibility that the young men "became" Harlungen/ Herelingas after, and because, they were hanged--"daß sie diesen Namen 'Wodans-leute' erst sekundär erhielten, weil nach dem Glauben des Volkes eben Gehängte vornehmlich zum Wilden Heer gehören [so auch Malone, *Widsith* [165]." (324f) Or because Wodan/Woden, like Odin, was god of the hanged? The appearance of hanged men in the Host must itself be secondary to the conception of the god as patron of the hanged, since they have no part in the original army.

78. Earlier in names, Campbell 145 #348.

79. "Schon G. Phillips (1853)...meinte 'sehr wahrscheinlich steckt in *kin*: König'. Die hier vorgetragenen Etymologie könnte man also als eine philologisch begründete Wiederholung der Theorie von Phillips bezeichnen." 326

(cf *Æðelbald cyng*). "Un-rounding of OE *y* [y] was already taking place in widespread areas during the tenth and eleventh centuries." By ME final -ng had become ŋ in some areas, but not in the West; thus "gerade der im Westen beheimatete" Map writes **chingus*[80]" (327). French did not possess a consonant corresponding to either ŋg or ŋ. In the adoption of ME **Herla king*, therefore, a sound change had to occur, "wie sie durch die bekannte anglofranz. Schreibung *-n* für engl. *-ng* in fme. Hss. veranschaulicht wird; so hat die ältere Lagamonhs. nicht selten gerade *kin* für *king*." (328)

To sum up: "Die Basis des afrz. *Herlekin* ist also ein ae. **Her(e)la cyng* 'König Harilo', me. **Herla king*. Das Wort entstammt der anglofranz. Kultursphäre; *Harlekin* ist ein Beitrag des germanischen Spätaltengland zum west-europäischen Sprachschatz." (329)

By now we have seen a feature common to the troops Wodan/Odin leads: they are dead.

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80. "Occasional use of *ch* seems to be without phonetic significance, as it is found for both c and ç." Campbell 173 #427 n.1.

Chapter 4. *Feralis exercitus.*

4.1. *Harii.*

Tacitus writes concerning the Harii (*Germania* 43):

> Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt, truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium
> sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.[1]

Tacitus' informants evidently took the Harii to be a tribe. It is far more likely, however, that they were the shock troops, the *her* κατ' ἐξοχήν, of the Lugii[2]. Their name certainly suggests this: they are the men of the *her* (chap. 2). The last line implies that Tacitus, or his source, believed the blackness of their bodies, their weaponry, and the nights they chose to attack, was a trick, a form of psychological warfare. In fact, from what we have discussed in the preceeding section, we can conclude that these warriors **are** the dead[3]. To a Roman they would have appeared

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1. "But the Harii, savage as they are, enhance their inborn wildness, over and above the strength in which they surpass the peoples just enumerated, by device and moment: black are their shields, their bodies painted; they pick the blackest nights for battles and by their very dreadfulness--and more: the semblance of an army of the dead--they produce terror. No foe can bear their strange and as it were hellish aspect; for in every battle the eyes are defeated first."

2. This continues to be communis opinio despite Gutenbrunner, "Die Harier im Markomannenkrieg," *ZfdA* 77 (1940) 27f.

3. "Das Heer schlechtweg ist aber das Geisterheer, die Schar der

frightening, and it would have been logical to assume that the purpose of the masquerade was to inspire terror; but the practice is presented not as a some-time ruse, but as custom, yet one could hardly hope to scare an enemy more than once or twice by such a trick. No, like our Yule maskers, they believed that they were the Ancestors: an army of immortals, the dead heroes of the tribe.

The effect, then, was not principally on the enemy, who, if he were German or Celt[4], surely had the same sort of warriors in his own tribe, but rather on the fighting men themselves. The dead cannot be killed; neither fire nor sword can harm them, as Snorri was to say about Odin's berserks. Tacitus has given us a valuable early description of ecstatic cultic warriors.

Most scholars seem to assume that the Harii were mature consecra-

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einherjar, als deren Führer Odin, *Herjann, Herfaðir, Herjaföðr* heißt" Much, *Germania* 485.
"Das bisher als verderbt betrachtete Wort *herfor*, das in der Guðrunarkviða 1,8 vorkommt, scheint einen Beleg für aisl. *herr* in der Bedeutung 'Totenheer' zu bieten." Herborg tells Gudrun how, when all her relatives were killed, she had to attend to their burials herself and with her own hands get them ready for their *herfor*, their journey to the "Totenheer." Siegfried Gutenbrunner, "Eddica." *ZfdA* 77 (1940) 20.

4. According to Caesar (B.G. 5, 14) it was the custom of the Britanni to fight naked, their bodies painted blue-black with woad. To the Roman general, who was unaware of this sort of thing in his own nation's past, the practice simply made the Britanni *horridiores*. We know enough about the Männerbünde among the Celts to feel safe in saying that the use of woad was a sign that these Britanni were the *manes*, that what Caesar was facing was indeed a *feralis exercitus*.

ted warriors, like those of the Chatti described in Germania 31[5]. I think it at least as likely that they were the *koryos* of the Lugii. These adolescent warriors were normally the guerrilla fighters. But one short passage does not give enough information for arguing one side or the other[6]. About the Chatti we are better informed.

4.2. *Chatti.*

This tribe elicits from Tacitus a fair degree of admiration. They are rather bright for Germans, and militarily better organized and disciplined than most. They rely on their infantry and carry on real

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5. Another assumption is that Tacitus' Harii are the same as Pliny's Charini, listed as a tribe of the Vandals (NH IV.xiv.98), RE III, 2143, and Much, Germania 485; the Lugii are the Vandals (Much 479). But the other tribal names do not match up, and Pliny's inclusion of the Goths (Gutones) as another tribe of the Vandals shows that he was not fully informed. I would be quite happy to say that the Charini were probably the same *thing* as the Harii, but not the same *people*. The name comes again from **harjaz* and is, as Much says, "mit lit. *karinis* 'zum Kriege gehörig' zusammenzuhalten." (485) But there is no reason to assume that there was only one of these bands in a large *gens* which was comprised of several tribes. It is more likely that every tribe had one, and that, since they were in concept the same thing, they had the same or similar names.
In India there were oath brotherhoods of cultic warriors called Vrātyas, and there were others called Vrātīnas. From the information we have, they seem to be exactly the same sort of thing, but they were not the same group (s. Part III).

6. And neither does the name, if we recall that *her*, etc, means "raiding party," not army as we usually mean it; thus we can conclude nothing about "professional soldiers."

campaigns, not just the quick raids of the other tribes (*Germania* 30).

It is the custom among them for a youth who has just reached manhood to let his beard and hair grow until he has killed an enemy -- *super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem*, over blood and booty they bare the face. The craven and unwarlike remain unkempt. The bravest among them also wear an iron ring until they have killed their man. This fashion appeals to very many of the Chatti, so that it is sported even by grey-beards. These are the men who are in the front line in every battle:

> Omnium penes hos initia pugnarum, haec prima semper acies, visu nova; nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur--prodigi alieni, contemptores sui--, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.(31)[7]

These warriors, who live off the populus, never affect a less ferocious appearance, and die in harness, are life-long consecrated warriors. They remain in that devoted state which for most males is a part of the adolescent rite of passage.

4.2.1 *Weihekrieger*

Anyone familiar with Viking literature will be struck by the aptness of Tacitus' description to the berserks and, even more, to Starkaðr[8].

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7. "Theirs is the first thrust of every fight, always theirs the first line of battle, a strange thing to see: for not even in peace do they grow gentle with a softer appearance. None has house or field or anything to care for: by whomever they visit they are fed--profligate of others' goods, contemptuous of their own--till pale old age renders them unequal to such harsh heroics."

8. Höfler compares Starkaðr point for point with the Weihekrieger of the Chatti, *Germanisches Sakralkönigtum* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1952) 190ff.

Although neither the one nor the others have long, unruly hair and beards, they are ferocious and unsavory in appearance. Berserks in the sagas are bullies, often with prodigious strength, boasters rather than heroes; socially they are depicted as scum and parasites[9]. But there are

9. For example: In *Hrólfs saga kraka*, both King Athils of Sweden and Hrolf of Denmark have in their retinues bands of twelve berserks who throw their weight around and demand slavish flattery from everyone, including the king, but are no match for a real hero like Svipdag or Böðvar Bjarki. In *Eyrbyggia saga* a pair of berserk brothers are virtually sold as slaves; they are good for no kind of work, despite their strength, but they do inspire fear, so that when one of them demands a proper maiden as wife, they must be killed by treachery. The *berserksgangr* often appears as an uncontrolable and unwelcome form of possession, so that a berserk seems much like the folk-lore and Hollywood conception of the werewolf (a being with which, religio-historically, he is in fact closely related, as we shall see). The twelve sons of Arngrim in *Hervarar saga* must get out of their ships and away from their followers when they feel the *berserksgangr* coming over them; they fight with trees and rocks until the fit is past and in this way avoid killing their men or each other. This is not much different from Kveldúlfr, Egil Skallagrimson's grandfather; he was quite a normal sort during the day, but towards evening a wolfish temper came over him, so that rumors went round of his being a shape-changer. His own son Grim, Egil's father, was given to fits of wolfish rage, in one of which he killed a friend of Egil's and was about to kill his own son as well, had a serving-woman not interceded to save the boy, thereby losing her own life.
Saxo's berserks are much the same, both loutish and demonic. Like Arngrim's sons and the berserks at the courts of Athils and Hrolf, they favor groups of twelve, for example the twelve sons of Vestmar in Book V and Harthben's champions in VII. Harthben himself would make Goliath look like one of the seven dwarfs; like Snorri's berserks he bites chunks out of his shield and gulps hot coals; like Arngrim's sons he is so out of control that he eviscerates six of his champions. There are also the twelve brothers from Norway in VI, the name of one of whom is Bjorn and the names of six others X-bjorn (about the rest history is silent,

also traces of a different view. Haraldr Lúfa's contingent of berserks played an important role in the battle of Hafursfjord, according to the poem by Torbjörn Hornklofi, and when a character in this saga is identified as "a great berserk," it is said with admiration: he is useful to the king, and hard to kill. Here we have berserks appearing in what must have been their actual role as the king's elite troops. Torbjörn's words (18),

> grenjuðu berserkir guðr vas á sinnum,
> emjuðu Ulfheðnar ok ísörn dúðu.
>
> Berserks bellowed -- this was their battle;
> Wolfskins shrieked and shook their weapons,

show us the ecstatic warriors howling like bears and wolves and recall Snorri's famous description in *Ynglingasaga* 6: "[Odin's] own men went about without armour and were mad like hounds or wolves, and bit their shields and were strong as bears and bulls; they slew men, but neither fire nor steel could deal with them. This was called a berserk's-gang." (Monsen 5)

When we turn to Starkaðr we see two conceptions as it were at war. There is the warrior-poet, champion of kings, and there is the eater

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but we can guess); they harry, pillage, cut down, haul off, sack, burn, and butcher (does this make them a *her*?) Harthben and company act more like the ogres of fairy-tales: they like to "kidnap and ravish princesses" (206). Vestmar's sons howl like wolves and are a thoroughly destructive presence at the court of good King Frothi.
In all this there are traces of an older conception. Egil's family is socially prominent despite its peculiarities, and Kveldulf's comrade and father-in-law, a berserk, is called "a man of good family" (21).

of raw meat[10] and basest regicide. The story in *Gautrek's Saga* of the judgment of the gods upon his fate reflects both the Odinic hero and how this hero must have appeared to the farmers who had to feed him. Nothing is said of his hair or beard, but he is battle-scarred and horrendously ugly, so much so, he complains in one of the poems attributed to him, that men accuse him of being a giant.

The judgment scene is worth a look. Thor ordains that Starkad "shall have neither a son nor a daughter, and his family end with him." (155) This is indeed the fate of the lifelong consecrated warrior. Odin then gives him three life-spans, and Thor decrees: "He shall commit a most foul deed in each one of them." This was true of Starkad, of course, but the doing of foul deeds came to be what berserks and their like were known for. Next Odin ordains "that he shall have the best of weapons and clothing.

Thor: 'I ordain that he shall have neither land nor estates.'
Odin: 'I give him this, that he shall have great riches.'
Thor: 'I lay this curse on him, that he shall never be satisfied with what he has.'
Odin: 'I give him victory and fame in every battle.'
Thor: 'I lay this curse on him, that in every battle he shall be sorely wounded.'
Odin: 'I give him the art of poetry, so that he shall compose verses as fast as he can speak.'
Thor: 'He shall never remember afterwards what he composes.'
Odin: 'I ordain that he shall be most highly thought of by all the noblest and the best.'
Thor: 'The common people shall hate him every one.'" (156)

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10. Saxo II, 106: n84 on I, Bk 6, #167, p185.

Long before anything which is now extant was written about Starkad, he would already have been an anomalous figure. Some facts about these consecrated warriors had been passed down, but without the religious context they were incomprehensible. As elite fighters and valued champions of their leader, they would certainly have the finest weapons and apparel, since, as Tacitus testifies, the fighting men were paid in booty (Ger.14) which, at that time, would have consisted of the weapons, clothing, and war-horse of the dead foe. Tacitus writes (*Germania* 5) that the Germans have no idea of the value of gold or silver; among them wealth is still measured in cattle[11]. This had changed by the time of our first OE poems. To us, the Viking and Anglo-Saxon heroes seem greedy, but it must be remembered that "rings" were more than golden objects: they were the warrior's γέρας, they were τιμή. They were greedy for honor; as great herds of cattle had brought honor to their forebears[12], gold arm-rings brought honor and respect to them, and of honor and respect one can never have too much. Thus we have our warrior with his great riches but no sons to inherit them, nor even a farmstead of his own to retire to, yet ever grasping for more, never satisfied.

That these men would often have sustained terrible wounds one can well imagine, since they were at the front of every charge and believed themselves invulnerable to mere steel. Of course the leaders and the

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11. This they still have in common with our Vedic warriors of Part III.

12. Cf Zarathustra's sad plea to Ahura Masda, that he is powerless to spread the gospel because he has so few cattle, Yasna 46.

"best" men would have treasured them, but to the common folk they must have been a real plague. Weiser pointed out that *only* on religious grounds would the ordinary folk of the Chatti, or any other tribe, have supported them. Neither the *bœndr* of the north nor the ordinary married men of the Chatti were weaklings. Fighters they all were, and well able to defend their homes and goods. That they feted these men as profligately as they demanded meant that they perceived them as belonging to the god[13]. And everything Tacitus describes points to this. They bear to the end of their days what would ordinarily be symbols of degradation: the iron ring, normally a sign of slavery, and the shaggy, unkempt hair and beard which in a mature man are otherwise the sign of one who is cowardly and unfit for battle, that is, unfit to be a man of the tribe. We will return to this subject, but first I want to mention two historical figures who consecrated themselves in this same fashion[14].

4.2.1.1 Civilis.

In his *Histories* Books IV and V, Tacitus tells of the revolt by the Batavians under Civilis. On the day he took up arms against Rome,

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13. 38. And let us recall the *Heischerecht* of the previous chapter.

14. This leaves a few blessings and curses over. The gift of poetry was certainly Odin's to give, and the court poets were all warriors, but this curse of Thor's cannot be easily explained like the rest. Perhaps it is an *aition* for the fact that so few poems of (the historical or legendary) Starkad have been preserved. As to the three life-spans, Starkad seems always to have been pictured as a battle-scarred *old* warrior; in *Hkr.* he appears as *Starkaðr inn gamli*.

Civilis had vowed not to cut his hair until he had destroyed the Roman legions; when he slaughtered the Fifth and Fifteenth he cut it off. Tacitus says this was a vow often taken by barbarians, and that Civilis also dyed his hair red (IV 61)[15]. (Ammianus tells of this practice among the Alamanni [27.2.2]: A Roman cavalry leader had the good fortune to come across a gang of these robbers, resting from the exertion of having routed a troop of Romans and killed the commanders, on a riverbank where some were dying their hair red as was their custom – *quosdam comas rutilantes ex more*[16].) Here we have the connection of a solemn vow and the devotion of the hair, not for a lifetime, in this case,

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15. Civilis was of the *stirps regia* of the Batavi, the kingly branch, i.e. not merely of the nobles. For Civilis, the Wodan cult, and the *Heerkönigtum*: Schlesinger, Heerkönigtum 139.

16. The dye Civilis used was almost certainly minnium, red lead, which gives a red-gold; Martial mentions its popularity among Roman matrons in two poems, in one of which he calls the color *"spuma Batava,"* in the other "*Chattica spuma*" (Höfler, *Sakralkönigtum* 204). (The Batavi were originally a tribe of the Chatti, *Germania* 29). The Alamannen king Cnodomarius wore a flaming red hair-knot (Ammianus Marcellinus, *RG* XVI.12.24). Sucellus, the Gaulish "Hammergott", is surrounded by "Feuerzeichen" and has an alter-ego Rudiobus; red is a symbol of strength, because "red is the color of vigorous youth." "Die rote Farbe Jupiters und seines Abbildes, des Triumphators, war als Zeichen blühender Lebenskraft gemeint." Thomas Köves-Zulauf, "Helico, Führer der gallischen Wanderung." *Latomus* 36 (1977) 71f and 74 N 179. Thor and Indra, Hammer-gods of Germania and India, have flaming red hair. The Slavic god Svantovit, a Männerbund-god, "is surrounded by red...Red is the color of war among the Indo-Europeans." Bernard Sergent, "Svantovit et l'Apollon d'Amyklai." *RHR* 211 (1994) 34. Red "kommt ...gerade im Totenkult sehr häufig vor..." Altheim, *Terra Mater* 81.

but until a goal is achieved: the man is "devoted" (*sacer*) to the god for this time. Groups could also take this vow: six thousand Saxons vowed not to cut their hair or beards until they had avenged themselves on the Suebians. (Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* V, 15).[17]

4.2.1.2 Haraldr hárfagr.

Snorri tells the following about the first king of all Norway (Hkr III, 3,4): Harald, king of a piece of Norway, sent men to sue for the hand of a certain Gyda, daughter of the king of Hordaland (another piece). The maiden answered that Harald was too small a king for her; she would marry him only after he had conquered all Norway for her sake. Her words stirred Harald to kingly action and he made the following vow: "Þess strengi ek heit, ok því skýt til guðs, þess er mik skóp ok öllu ræðr, at aldri skal skera hár mitt né kemba, fyrr en ek hefi eignazk allan Nóreg með sköttum ok skyldum ok forráði, en deyja at öðrum kosti." "This I solemnly swear, and I call to witness the god who made me and rules all things, that never shall my hair be cut or combed till I have made all Norway my own, with tribute and tax and rule, or else die!"

Ten years later all Norway was under Harald; then he took a bath, and Jarl Ragnvald, who cut his hair, gave him a new by-name: "Þá kölluðu þeir hann Harald lúfu, en síðan gaf Rögnvaldr honum kennengarnafn ok kallaði hann Harald inn hárfagra...." (23) "They used

17. *Gregory of Tours. History of the Franks*, trans. by O.M.Dalton. Vol.II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927) 184.

to call him Harald the Shaggy, but afterwards Rögnvald gave him a by-name and called him Harald of the beautiful hair." One hopes this passage does not mean that Harald did not bathe for ten years[18]; a bath, though, is a normal part of the process of return from the devoted to the secular state, of de-sacralisation.

4.3. The hairstyles of the Suevi. *(Germania* 38).

Tacitus reports that it is a national custom of the Suevi to comb the hair to the side and bind it in a knot. The rest of the report seems a little confused[19]. On the one hand this style distinguishes freeborn Swabians from other Germans and from their own slaves[20], while on the other hand the style is copied by other Germans--but only by the youth. Much refers to monuments showing this hairstyle: the hair is normally pulled to the

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18. Rather a long time, but, as we shall see, not bathing or attending to any sort of bodily hygiene whatsoever is a common feature of this sort of consecration and signifies belonging to the dead.
The story, as it stands, seems to be apocryphal, though the "Haar-Kriegertum" was real. A later age required an aition for the nick-name Lufa, see Aage Kabell, "Harja" *ZfdA* 102 (1973) 10ff. (Kabell shows how Gmc and then Norse phonology rules caused the virtual homophony of words for Heer, hoch, Haar, hehr [=hoary], and haihs [1-eyed], [and perhaps also hross]--hár(r)--giving the skalds boundless opportunity for word-play; these are all Odin-words.)

19. As is the very matter of who is, and is not, Swabian. The tribal listing conforms neither to Pliny, *NH* IV, nor to Tacitus' own division of the Germans into three branches. (Much, *Germania* 425f.)

20. These were close-shorn. (428)

right side of the front of the head and knotted close to the ear; two figurines show the hair rolled so as to stick out like a horn (427). The third edition can point to heads found in bogs in Denmark, northern Germany, and the Netherlands with the hair and knot preserved[21]. These finds, of which the Netherlands is outside the area attributed to the Swabians and the others are not certainly Swabian, give confirmation to both written and graphic evidence that the custom was in fact common over a large area and not restricted to a particular people[22].

This style, according to Tacitus, is affected occasionally by the youth of other tribes, whereas the Swabians maintain it even when they are hoary. Often they pile the hair on the very top of their heads. The chiefs wear even more elaborate knots. All this is done not for the sake of fashion, but to make them look taller and more terrifying when they go into battle.

Much's conclusion, "Um ein Stammeszeichen handelt es sich also dabei nicht, vielleicht aber um einen früher weiter verbreiteten Brauch, der sich bei abgelegeneren Völkerschaften länger hielt" (429), is certainly correct. It would be useful to know if the grey-haired men referred to truly comprised all the older warriors of any tribe or if, as with the

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21. One such head, discovered in 1965, has been pollen-dated to the beginning of our era, thus roughly the time of Tacitus' information. The 1967 edition has a marvelous photo of a head with a hair-knot. (428)

22. Much cites for example two passages from Seneca referring to these knots among the Germans and one from Martial describing the knot of the Sugambri, not a Swabian tribe, while the representatives of Swabian tribes on the Marcus pillar are not wearing knots. (428f)

plurimis of the Chatti, what his sources were really seeing was a special group of consecrated warriors, and it was the youthful warriors of a large area, perhaps the whole western part of Germania, who wore their hair knotted, in contrast to the easterners who wore it long and dishevelled. My guess is that something like the latter picture is the true one.

Jeanmaire points to the close relationship which the Greeks felt to exist between κοῦρος and κείρω, causing them to derive the former from the latter. Whether the etymology is correct or not, it witnesses to a connection between a certain age group and cutting the hair.

> L'habitude d'un sacrifice analogue au moment du passage de l'enfance à l'adolescence est un ancien usage hellénique attesté par d'assez nombreuses survivances que nous aurons encore occasion de rencontrer.
>
> Il serait donc possible que la désignation de *couros* se soit, en effet, attachée primitivement aux jeunes guerriers qui, après avoir reçu l'éducation militaire, consommaient ce sacrifice de la chevelure destiné à les initier à une vie nouvelle et conséquemment se distinguaient par un arrangement spécial de la coiffure de la masse des guerriers aux longues tresses.
>
> Ce qui donnerait un réel intérêt à cette hypothèse, qui ne va pas au delà d'une certaine vraisemblance, c'est que ces questions d'arrangement et de coupe de la chevelure ont eu une importance assez générale chez les anciens peuples militaires de l'Europe et qu'elles étaient liées aux rites qui consacraient l'initiation du jeune guerrier à la vie militaire. Des érudits ont attiré l'attention sur ce point que la tonte de la chevelure (ou de la barbe) avait les mêmes effets, chez les anciens Germains, que la prise des armes.... (37f)[23]

23. For the connection of hairstyle and Männerbund (and kouros-type gods and heroes--did Kərəsāspa and Kṛṣṇa wear pigtails?) in Iran and India, see Widengren, *Feudalismus* 19, 34ff.

He then goes on to quote at length from *Origines de la Noblesse* by M. Guilhiermoz concerning the "continuité ininterrompue" between the investing with arms of a young man among the ancient Germans and the same custom in the Middle Ages. The passage ends with the conclusion "that cutting the hair and beard on the one hand, and arming on the other, were two different actions of one and the same ceremony, or that the one could perhaps take the place of the other." (39)

Now this is interesting and useful to our study because, taking all our ancient sources together, our information about the early Germans is very spotty and not necessarily reliable. Information about other IE peoples at a primitive level helps us sort out the pieces and put them together in a way that makes sense; and of course it works the other way as well, as we have just seen. Back to our sources.

4.4. Procopius and Ammianus on youthful warriors.

This is all Tacitus has to tell about hair styles. In 13 he tells of investing with arms among the Germans generally. A youth may bear arms only after the community has judged him fit to use them. Then he is invested in a formal rite which Tacitus correctly equates with the Roman coming-of-age ceremony in which a youth receives the *toga virilis*: "ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae." (13.5) He receives his arms, a shield and speer, from one of the most eminent men, or from his father or a kinsman. A youth would normally be invested by his father or closest male relative; if he receives his arms from a leader, then presumably he is entering this man's *comitatus*, an institution which

is then described. It would be useful to know at what age this took place, if there was a ceremony involving the hair, what sort of training in arms the boy had received and what sort of test he had passed to convince the tribe that he was indeed ready to bear arms. Lacking this, we can at least look at some of the scant information we have from other sources.

Procopius tells us concerning the Heruli who fought with Narses against the Persians, that the "slaves" (δοῦλοι) go into battle without even a shield; only after they have proven themselves brave in war do their masters (δεσπόται) allow them to bear shields. (PW II.25.28) It is generally accepted that what Procopius took to be a servile relationship was rather that between a mature warrior and one or more youths. Tacitus, we may note, was careful to explain that there was no disgrace -- *nec rubor* -- in being seen among a chief's *comites*. Quite the contrary, it was an honor to fight for his glory, to stand shoulder to shoulder with him or fall with him[24]. But the *comitatus*, too, could easily be misinterpreted by someone who did not understand the bond of personal loyalty and the mutual opportunities for gain and glory underlying the institution[25].

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24. Again, it would be useful to know the relative ages of the boys involved. I am assuming that the δοῦλοι of the Heruli were quite young, like the boys of many primitive peoples who were sent either into battle or into the woods nearly naked and armed only with a knife, to be fully armed only after proving themselves both killers and survivors.

25. "*Comes* ...übersetzt ganz buchstäblich das verbreitetste germanische Wort für den Gefolgsmann **ga-sinþa(n)-*, **ga-sinþian-* (ahd. *gisint*, as. *gisīd*, ags. *gesīþ* und ahd. *gisindo*, got. *gasinþja*, *gasinþa*, anord. *sinni*) 'Gefährte, Weggenosse' zu **sinþa-* 'Weg, Gang'. Dazu gehört auch eine

One last bit of information concerning young warriors, or warriors-to-be, and the older warriors, before we try to fit the pieces together. Ammianus writes, "Hanc Taifalorum gentem...ac turpem obscenae vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulentur maribus puberes aetatis uiriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi." (31.9.5) "I have learned that this repulsive tribe of the Taifali is so sunken in the shameful acts of its filthy lifestyle that among them growing boys couple with men in an abominable bond of intercourse, wasting life's verdure on their filthy practices." Strong words, and certainly a misinterpretation. Ammianus goes on to add that if someone, on reaching adulthood, singlehandedly captures a boar or kills a huge bear, he is thereby delivered from the stain of unchastity.

It is safe to say that no warrior society ever tolerated the practice Ammianus describes, nor has homoerotic sex ever been so general or wide-spread in a society as he suggests for the Taifali.[26] What Ammianus

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Kollektivbildung...fortlebend in unserem *Gesinde,* aber ebenfalls mit der Grundbedeutung 'Weg-, Reisegenossenschaft'. Wenn das Gefolge des Fürsten so heißt, ist auszugehen davon, daß es seinen Beruf besonders auf dem Kriegspfad erfüllte; vgl. ahd. *sind* 'Reise, Heereszug' und mhd. *reise,* das insbesondere 'Kriegszug, Heerfahrt' bedeutet.... Zugleich handelt es sich aber um seine Hausgenossen im Frieden, die für ihn tatsächlich auch mit die Stelle vertraten, was für uns das Hausgesinde ist." Much, Germania 225. Thus OF *mesnie,* L *familia.* We might also recall the little pages at medieval courts, who essentially waited table, and the squires, who were "go-fers;" these could easily look like slaves to the uninformed.

26. Harald Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982) esp. Kap. 1.

has heard of suggests the Doric type of *Knabenliebe*--what Harald Patzer calls "die ältere" or "die sogenannte dorische Knabenliebe.[27]" The relationship between the mature warrior and the growing boy is one of nurturing and sponsorship; it has nothing to do with sex. It is, in fact, part of a rite of passage[28].

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27. "Sogenannt" because it is not actually limited to the Dorians. We will have to use the term Knabenliebe, as there is no equivalent English term, nor is there any way to manufacture one. The practice has nothing to do with homosexuality, and the terms pedophilia and pederasty, taken directly from the Greek, mean very nasty things which are at odds in every way with Greek Knabenliebe.

28. The "newer" or "classical" form developed out of the warrior initiation. What is unique to Greece, I believe, is, first, that the institution grew, in Attica and elsewhere, into a preparation for life as a citizen of a polis, when citizenship rather than war became the focus of life. Beauty--τὸ καλόν, of which physical beauty was the visible manifestation--was cultivated in the youth rather than the warrior virtues. Sappho's poetry indicates that there was a parallel track for young girls. See Patzer 90-125. Second, we have in Greece a people at a really primitive stage coming on to the scene and not giving up their way of life in the face of one which was more advanced; so that we have contemporary written accounts of the institution, not by the principals, to be sure, and not necessarily fully comprehending, but a big improvement over Ammianus. It is easy to understand why, of all institutions, this one would be subject to the most distortion when described by someone who did not understand it.
Many writers like to link Procopius' remarks about the repugnant habits of the Heruli in GW II.14.36 with this passage of Ammianus. But Procopius did not say that men mated with boys; he said they mated with donkeys. This they certainly did not do, but whether this was Procopius', or his source's, hyperbolic reaction to a Herulian Knabenliebe we will never know; as written it is no testimony to anything but Procopius' general disgust at the Heruli. These do seem, however, from other things

Recall what Tacitus said about the youths who had just received their weapons: *ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae.* Before (investiture) they are regarded as part of the home; then (i.e. immediately upon investiture) they are regarded as part of the state. Before the ceremony they were one kind of being; at the moment of receiving arms they become a completely different kind of being. This change is always seen by primitive societies as a rebirth: the child dies, the man is born.[29] Before the change can occur, the boy must be trained for his new role as adult male[30]. Because we think of a child as beginning to grow to adulthood virtually from the moment of birth, with many small steps along the way and personal, public, and sacred steps unrelated to one another, it can be difficult to understand how seriously primitive peoples take this matter of the "new man" (or woman).

The man has first of all to be skilled in the use of weapons and in all bodily arts and exercises needed for battle and for the hunt. He must know the rules governing relationships within the tribe and between

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he writes, to have been a conservative lot: they practiced suttee (a living institution elsewhere into historical times), and his description of their disposal of their gerontes (GW II.14.1-4) is, in all its detail, entirely credible. Was the δεσπότης actually the φιλήτωρ of the "slaves?" Procopius is, alas, no help--but I rather suspect that it is true. (Patzer, who only mentions Ammianus in passing, has the sense not to refer to Procopius at all.)

29. Recall the **reality** of ritual death and birth, 3.3.

30. Just as there was a preparation period (gestation) before his natural birth.

tribes, as well as those governing relationships with the realms of the ancestors, the gods, the demons, the land-spirits, and whatever else is felt to exist. Further he must know the sacred history of the cosmos and of his own people and the rites which celebrate these histories, with whatever songs and dances are involved. And of course he must learn all the mysteries of his sex. The woman must be trained in her role also. This is all part of what are usually called puberty rites, which term will do if we keep in mind, as van Gennep stresses, that we are talking about *social* puberty[31]. It is important to remember that what we call the secular is totally bound up in the sacred, and the process of initiation always involves both instruction and consecration. The young people are taken from their families and spend a certain period totally apart from the profane world and especially from the opposite sex. In some societies, part of the training is one on one, a man passing on his own skills and wisdom to the man-to-be.

4.4.1 An analog from Doric Greece.

For Doric Greece we are relatively well informed concerning practices at Sparta and among the Doric population of Crete. For the latter we have the report of Ephoros from the fourth century[32]. The process starts with the ritual kidnapping of a little boy. The boy's family

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31. Because for the male, physical puberty, the actual occasion for all this, is hard to pin down.

32. Patzer 72-90; Jeanmaire 421-460.

goes in hot pursuit. When they reach the kidnapper's Men's House there is a reconciliation; the kidnapper gives them gifts, and they accompany the man and boy to a place in the forest where they will spend two months hunting. In fact, this was all set up in advance: the man had chosen his boy for the warrior virtues of courage and self-control[33], and the boy's family had approved the man as one who would develop these virtues in their son.

At the end of the two-month period, the family escorts the pair back to the community. The older partner now bestows abundant gifts on the younger, among which, obligatorily, are a set of weapons, a bull, and a drinking-cup. The boy sacrifices the bull to Zeus, they celebrate a great feast, and afterwards the boy becomes a member of his partner's *syssitia*. We see how the three gifts named encompass the entirety of the boy's new life. The gift of weapons declares him a warrior, although his training in their use will have to continue. The sacrifice of the bull to Zeus effects the hallowing of his manhood (or his becoming-a-man); and the cup is a token of his membership in society, in the *politeia*.

The boy is now his partner's παραστάτης. He, and whatever other boys his partner has sponsered who have not yet grown a beard, are this man's παραστάται; they stand right by him in the line of battle, they fight shoulder to shoulder with him; they share his honor and bear the name of κλεινοί. Now they sound a lot like Tacitus' *comites*![34] The

33. Think of the tests the little boys are subjected to in Völsungasaga before they even begin their training with Sigmund!

34. And also remind us of OE *eaxlgestealla* (Beow.1326, 1714).

older partner is referred to as the φιλήτωρ[35].

With the exception of the "kidnapping," which seems to be unique to Crete[36], what has been sketched here is the model for those Doric cities which had not evolved to the classical form and some other primitive areas. Sparta refined the Doric model in the course of her own unique development; details can be found in *Couroi et Courètes,* 463-591. It must be stressed that the relationship was between a man and a **beardless** boy and ended when the boy became an adult physically; that the man was the affectionate sponsor of the boy, concerned for his development and well-being; that sponsorship was a societal responsibilty; and that intercourse, far from being the purpose of the relationship, was rare and governed by ritual form: the nurturing love of the philetor must not devolve into lust, the boy must not be exploited or womanized[37]. If it

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Jeanmaire remarks that the bond between the boy and his kidnapper is "analogous to that which, in our own chivalry, bound the squire to his master." (452)

35. "Dazu ist beachtenswert, daß uns der griechische Gewährsmann ausdrücklich mitteilt, der ältere Partner habe der *philetor* des Knaben geheißen, also nicht der *erastes* in der klassischen Form der Knabenliebe. Das Wort *philein*...meint eine Art der Zuneigung, die nicht eigentümlich sexuell bestimmt ist, jedoch immer ein tätiges 'Wohltun' einschließt. Die Endung *-etor* bedeutet häufig eine Art Amt [n.38. Beispiele: ἡγήτωρ, κοσμήτωρ, ῥήτωρ, κλήτωρ.], so daß wir auf die genaue Übersetzung: '(liebevoller) *Betreuer*' geführt werden." Patzer 79.

36. But cf. the story of Zeus and Ganymede, Patzer 81.

37. The discussion of *dikaios* vs. *adikos eros* of the classical form, pp46-

was truly a man-boy relationship that Ammianus had heard of, this is the form it must have had. To the boar and bear we will return.

4.5. The liminal state.

It is obvious that, whatever form the rite of passage may take and however long it may last, there is a period during which the youth is neither a part of the home -- because he has been removed from it -- nor

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62, will give a good idea of the rules of the Doric form also. Intercourse was between the thighs, never anal; it was done standing; the boy never "played the woman." The Thera inscriptions, Patzer claims, have been misinterpreted. "Sie gehören zu einem von der übrigen Stadt getrennten Bezirk, der dem Götterkult und der gymnastischen Jugenderziehung vorbehalten ist. Doch dominiert offenkundig der sakrale Zweck ...Mit all diesem zeigt sich ein völlig anderes Milieu als das der pompejanischen 'Graffiti'...Auf Thera befinden wir uns in einem Bereich, der dicht besät ist mit Spuren fleißiger Götterverehrung. Unter den zahlreichen hocharchaischen Göttern, die hier im Umkreis unserer Knabeninschriften mit Namen genannt (wohl: angerufen) werden, wobei oft die Verehrenden dazu genannt sind, haben den Vorrang solche, die wie schon der Hauptgott Apollon Karneios...die die dorische Mannestüchtigkeit, vor allem die in den Jünglingen erhoffte und zu entwickelnde, in ihrer Obhut haben, vor allem Zeus mit einer sonst unbekannten Gottheit *Kūres* (von *kūros* 'Jüngling'), was schon Hiller...mit dem kretischen Zeusopfer der Knaben im Bericht des Ephoros und mit dem jünglingshaften kretischen Zeus, der im Hymnus von Palaekastro angerufen wird..., überzeugend in Beziehung setzte..." (85). Patzer is not saying that the sex act was rare here--it obviously was not--but that it was cultic. It is "kaum denkbar, daß hiermit etwas anderes gemeint ist als eine sakrale Annäherung, wenn nicht Identifizierung, an den jugendlichen Gott, der den Jünglingen Manneskraft spendet, also geradezu den Gott der Jünglingsinitiation." (86)
For Thera see also Jeanmaire, 456-8, with some examples; Jeanmaire points out that the gods of the inscriptions are all courotrophic divinities.

a part of the adult male community, because he has not yet been initiated into it. He is in the state which van Gennep calls *marge*.

There are *Rites de Passage* which can be analysed into *Rites de séparation, Rites de marge* and *Rites d'agrégation*, or *rites préliminaires, liminaires*, and *postliminaires*[38]. Puberty rites, which are always more or less complex, have these three elements. In our case, the boy is separated from the non-warriors (domus; non-adult-males) and will be integrated into the class of warriors. The rite of separation can be quite dramatic, none perhaps more than our Cretan kidnapping, where the boy is "forceably" removed from his home. The rite of aggregation will be his acceptance into adult male society. But in cultures in which the process of becoming a full-fledged adult is a prolonged one, as in all the contemporary African warrior-cattleherding societies studied, puberty rites will contain several layers of aggregation. In Sparta the boy leaves the world of home and women at age seven and enters the world of males, but he may not be τέλειος--an *homme fait*--until he is thirty[39]. During this time he will pass through many stages, each with its own rigors and its own duties. In a sense, this entire period of twenty-three years is a time of *marge*; actually there are many separations and aggregations, with more or less pronounced periods of *marge*--which I will call "liminal" periods--inbetween. At around age fifteen or sixteen there was

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38. Arnold van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris: Nourry, 1909) 14.

39. For the following, Jeanmaire, 499-569.

an actual puberty rite[40]. The lads (called mellerines or sideunai) lived for a year outside the city limits in the open air[41]. There was more involved, of course, than camping, but this is a good example of a liminal existence. Our little Cretan boy's two month forest retreat is another, and the Spartan *cryptie* is yet another. The Cretan boy gets his weapons after the retreat and enters his sponsor's syssitie, but he does not thereby become either a man or a warrior. There will be further *rites de passage*.

To return to the Chatti: When they reach manhood they let their hair and beard grow and do not cut them until they have killed an enemy. But at some point before the beard began to grow, the boy was invested with weapons. Once the first growth of beard indicates that he is, in physical terms, a man, it is incumbent upon him to pass the test of manhood. He is definitely in a liminal state (marge): he is a man, and yet he is not a man, because he has still to do a manly deed. Such a test is a part of all puberty rites of warrior societies. We know that in Sparta there were truly terrible tests at various stages. As for this particular proof, however, the logistics are problematic. Much (390f) points out that the Chatti's neighbors were themselves fierce warriors. The tribe

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40. *τοὺς δὲ ἐφήβους... καλοῦσιν Σπαρτιάται σιδεύνας· διέκρινον δὲ αὐτοὺς ἄρα τῇ ἥβῃ, τουτέστιν περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότας τῶν νεωτέρων παίδων καὶ καθ'ἑαυτοὺς ἤσκουν ἀνδροῦσθαι.* "The Spartans call their ephebes *sideunai*. At puberty, that is, when they are around fifteen or sixteen years old, they separate them from the younger children and train them off by themselves to become men." Photius, in Jeanmaire 505 N1.

41. In Plato's *Laws* 666 E the Athenian remarks that at Crete "You put your youth out at grass like a herd of colts!" Jeanmaire 427.

would have lost half its manhood in the prime of life if this had really been the test. Even these people, as feisty as they were, were not permanently at war, and what is more, for a test like this to work as a proof of manhood, the young man would have to be able to provide evidence of his deed, such as a head. But it is not possible, in the heat of battle, to decapitate the man you have just killed. After the battle heads can be collected, but not as proof that this particular youth has killed his man[42].

4.5.1 Exiting *marge*.

When we recall the Taifali, we find a possible way out of the problem. Some other great deed can substitute for killing a man. For the Taifali youth it was to capture a boar or kill a huge bear single-handed. These are no mean feats. The youth of the Heruli could earn their arms by showing bravery in battle; presumably if they fought in real wars and acquitted themselves well, that was their proof. Another possibility is a "monster"-killing. In *Hrólfs saga Kraka*, Böðvar Bjarki kills a great flying troll which has been invading Hrolf's garth once a year and eating all the livestock. Now Bjarki has become the protector of a cowardly kid named Hott. After forcing Hott to drink of the monster's blood, which effects an immediate change in his personality, Bjarki sets the monster back on its feet so that it looks all too alive. When King and court come

42. The Celtic head-fetish is well known. Adolphe Reinach takes up the matter of collecting the right head in "Le têtes coupées et les trophées en Gaule," *RC* 34 (1913) 270f.

out the next morning to assess the damage, they see the monster, and they are one and all, heroes though they are, terrified. Someone has to kill it. Bjarki recommends Hott. Hott is willing, but he has no sword; he will do the deed if the king will give him his own sword. Hrolf agrees, and Hott "slays" the beast. Hrolf gives him the sword for keeps and also a new name; henceforward he is Hjalti, named for the sword Gullinhjalti, and he becomes the king's man[43].

Here we have all the elements of a warrior initiation. Bjarki, in the role of sponsor, prepares and presents Hott for his trial. Hott passes the test, is invested by the king, and receives a new name (a common occurrence after a rebirth.) And the time of year? Yule, a prime time for monsters, but also for initiations, as we shall see.

In his study of the berserk, Benjamin Blaney[44] has given numerous examples from the sagas of what look like confused recollections of initiation rites, all of them involving berserks in some way. After killing the monster, for example, Bjarki and Hott confront Hrolf's twelve berserks. Hrolf breaks up the fight before anyone is hurt, but the berserks have plainly been humbled. The pattern which Blaney has identified is this:

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43. Snorri has a tale about Thor and Thjalti. Thor has an appointment for single-combat with the giant Hrungnir. To confuse things, Hrungnir's cronies make another giant out of clay and animate it with a calf's heart. Thor kills the real giant, and his young sidekick kills the phony one. (*Gylf.*17)

44. Benjamin Blaney, *The Berserkr: His Origin and Development in Old Norse Literature.* U of Colorado, PhD., 1972.

1. A youth leaves home. (Hott was actually kidnapped.)
2. At his new residence he is considered worthless and is abused, verbally or even physically. (Hrolf's men use Hott as a target at which to throw their bones.) His outward appearance is squalid. (Typically he is wearing a ragged pelt; Hott is simply filthy, so that the first thing Bjarki does is wash him.)
3. He kills a monster or bear
4. Whereupon he is given respect (and sometimes a new name) and is accepted by his abusers as one of them.
5. Immediately thereafter he defeats (but does not necessarily kill) a berserk[45]. Sometimes 4 and 5 are conflated, and the great deed becomes the victory over a berserk[46].
6. There are never any women present. (Blaney 93-129)

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45. Bjarki's participation in the humbling of the berserks could have been added only after the initiation was no longer recognised as such. To the saga writer, the hero of the piece is Böðvar Bjarki.

46. Cf. the Nart hero Soslan's fight with Totras, which he can win only after donning a wolf's skin. "The duel of an adult leader with a young warrior described in this legend was one of the rites of aggregation of adolescents preserved in the customs of the Ossetes," who are the descendants of the Scythians. Askold Ivančik, "Les guerriers-chiens." *RHR* 210/3 (1993) 319. Was a "great deed" behind the wolfskin-clad Dolon's headhunting expedition in Euripides' *Rhesos*? Lucien Gernet, "Dolon le loup," *Mélanges Franz Cumont, Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slavs* IV (1936) connects the incident with headhunting and initiations elsewhere in Indogermania, 196f. A male of the Ossetes reached full maturity only after three *balc*--"raid militaire, expédition" i.e. razzias--of one, three, and seven years. The one-year razzia was a precondition for marriage (Ivančik 319). A Macedonian was not a man "until he had killed a boar without the aid of net or snare" (Athenaeus in Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*, trans. by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986] 118). When Setantae

As usual, the berserks in these stories are louts. But they turn up so regularly in initiation scenes that one is tempted to think part of their role as elite warriors was to help form the next generation. Whatever their role may have been in the youths' education, it appears that at the conclusion of the initiation ceremony itself they would challenge the new warrior[47]. The initiate would just as boastfully accept the challenge, and they would engage in some sort of single combat, in which the youth would thoroughly trounce the berserk--ritually, of course--thereby proving that he was indeed as much a man, or even more.

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kills an enormous "Otherworld" hound, a "great dog that embodies the martial virtues[,] and is thus able to incorporate those same virtues," he receives "his adult name and identity" and assumes the watchdog's function as Cú Chulainn, a function which grows with him until he is defender of all Ulster (Kim McCone, "Hounds, Heroes and Hosptallers in Early Irish Myth." *Ériu* 35 [1984] 11). A ritual dragon-killing was involved in initiation in ancient Iran (Widengren, *Feudalismus* 18); it persisted in the Mithra Mysteries, which represent "einen Nachhall der kultischen Männerbünde" 33f & N100.

47. This would help explain a behaviour typical of berserks. It was the custom of Hrolf's berserks, for example, "when they returned to court to go up to every man present...and ask whether he reckoned himself as brave as they." (285) Svipdag had had the same experience when he entered Aðils court: the twelve berserks came up to him, "asking whether he was some kind of hero maybe, the big way he was acting. As much a hero as any of them, he replied...The berserks were scowling and bawling aloud and challenging Svipdag: 'do you dare fight with us?...We want to try just how mighty you really are.'" (253) *Hrolf's Saga* is young (fifteenth century) but preserves a lot of very old material in a less mutilated form than is common. In *Víga-Glúms saga* (13C), Glum is taunted in this way by a berserk named Björn until he leaps up, grabs a piece of firewood, and clubs Björn mercilessly until he runs away.

4.6. Demon Warriors.

When telling Bjarki about Hrolf's berserks, Hjalti says the king "knows their quality, and they win him great victories and much wealth." This statement, in the middle of a description which makes the berserks seem like nothing but a bunch of bullies, is what is left of a memory of berserks as elite fighters.

It will be worthwhile to look at the wording in Snorri's description. The beserks *váru galnir sem hundar eða vargar.* The word translated "mad" above is *galinn*, past participle of *gala*, "to chant or sing (a spell)," thus "enchanted," but as an adjective translated "mad, frantic," etc., and therefore must have meant something like "made mad/raving by magic." The word translated "wolves" is not the generic word for wolf, *úlfr*, but *vargr*, a word which designates the wolf in the wild, the fearsome beast of prey. *Úlfr*, alone and in compounds, is frequently used as a man's name; *vargr* never. This strong wording enhances the depiction of the berserk as a demon-warrior[48].

4.6.1 An initiation scenario in Völsungasaga.

It has long been recognised that the eighth chapter of *Völsungasaga* contains a garbled recollection of an initiation. Sigmund's sister-son

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Glum's tale is one of two initiation stories in the saga; see Blaney 96-100; for Glum and his family as Odin worshipers, s. Höfler, *SK* 224-238.

48. "The language had need of two words, *vargr* (Anglo-Saxon *vearg*) and *úlfr* (Anglo-Saxon *vulf*); vargr is the demon beast..." Grønbech 232.

Sinfjötli[49] has passed tests of bravery and self-discipline and proven himself to be the right partner for Sigmund. But Sigmund thinks the boy is still too young and wants to accustom him to hardship, so during the summers they range the forests, killing men[50]. One time they come to a house in which two men are sleeping; hanging over them are wolfskins. Sigmund and Sinfjötli put the skins on and cannot get them off[51]. Now they live like wolves. They agree that each will fight with up to seven men alone, but if one of them is attacked by more he will howl for help. Then they go their separate ways. Later Sinfjötli is attacked by eleven men and kills them all, but he is badly wounded. When Sigmund finds him he boasts about his deed. In a wolfish rage, Sigmund leaps upon him and tears out his throat. He carries the dead youth to the hut. Some time later he sees a weasel bite out another weasel's throat, then run off and return with a leaf which he places on the wound, whereupon the second weasel springs up as good as new. A raven brings Sigmund such a leaf; he places it on Sinfjötli's throat, and the boy springs up completely healed. Later they are able to take the skins off and they burn them. Sigmund then judges Sinfjötli ready to be his partner in his great

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49. The boy is his son, too, but he doesn't know that yet.

50. They raided farmsteads to get whatever they needed that they couldn't get by hunting. This is a common phase in the training of young men in primitive warrior societies. For seasonal activities see 6.5.1.

51. The two princes from whom they took the skins were under a spell; they could remove the skins only every tenth day. The same seems to apply to Sigmund and Sinfjötli.

undertaking.

Here we have, among other things, a ritual death and resurrection. The leaf is usually explained as a motif carried over from folk-tale, the redactor's attempt to explain Sinfjötli's return from the dead, and indeed, anyone familiar with Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* will recognise the *Lebenskraut* from several stories[52]. But in AV II,9, which, because of its similarities to RV X,57 and Kāth.IX,6, Hauer classifies as an Erweckungslied[53], after verse 1 "a ***Lebenskraut* is applied**, and then verse 2 is murmered: 'He has come round, he has come up (from the underworld); he has attained to the Host of the Living (jīvānām vrāta); he has become the father of sons, the most exalted of men.' This last line is... meaningful in a waking-song for a consecrated youth who is now entering the set of marriageable men."[54] So it is at least as likely that the

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52. Especially 16, "Die drei Schlangenblätter," in which a snake revives its mate with leaves with which the hero then revives his own mate; and 60, "Die zwei Brüder," in which an angry young man cuts off his brother's head, then repents and sends a rabbit to get a leaf which restores him to life.

53. "...eines der zerimoniellen Erweckungslieder, die gebraucht wurden um einen Ohnmächtigen oder scheintot Daliegenden, der in die jenseitigen Welt der Väter gegangen war, wieder in die Welt der Lebendigen zurückzurufen." 185. According to Kauś. 27, 5.6, this hymn was used "zur Befreiung aus dämonischen Gewalten." But the last line quoted is "natürlich sinnlos in einer Beschwörung gegen Dämonen, aber durchaus sinnvoll in einem Erweckungslied für einen geweihten Jüngling, der nun eintritt in die Schar der Zeugungsfähigen Männer."

54. Hauer 186.

Lebenskraut found its way into the fairy-tale from an actual cult practice; for the thirteenth century redactor of *Völsungasaga* the leaf was as much a folk-tale element as the weasels.

The author was equally at a loss regarding Sigmund and Sinfjötli's lives as *úlfheðnar*. The werewolf life is part of the training of the young warrior throughout the IE world. This is a subject we will be taking up in detail later on. In the lines from Þórbjörn hornklofi quoted above, *úlfheðnar* are mentioned alongside *berserkir*. In the sagas the two terms are used virtually interchangeably, although the berserk is named far more often. Both bear-like creatures and warriors dressed as wolves appear on the helmet-plates. *Úlfheðinn* appears as a man's name in OIc, and its exact equivalent, *Wolfhetan*, in OHG[55], whereas, although there are myriad names compounded with "bear" in the Germanic languages, "berserk" is not attested as a personal name[56]. Furthermore there are numerous tribal names which refer to the wolf, either by name or under a *Deckname*, but none referring to the bear, while Odin, who is intimately associated with wolves, has several bear-names but no wolf-

55. Blaney points out that there are no men dressed in partial bear costumes to correspond to the wolf-warriors on the helmet plates, and no wolves to correspond to the bears (69), and suggests that the latter may be showing the total therio-morphic transformation of the cultic warrior. Like Böðvar Bjarki, who fights in the form of a great bear in the final battle, he is a "Bear of Battle" (71).

56. There are two Icelanders named *Biarnheðinn* in the twelfth century; Jakob Grimm mentions an OHG *Pernhetan* (*ZfdA* 2, 1842) "doch ohne Belegnachweis," Gunter Müller, "Zum Namen *Wolfhetan* und seinen Verwandten," *FMS* 1 (1961) 202; s.a. Schramm 77; Blaney 24.

names. The significance of all this is hopelessly lost in the time gap. From the literary and iconographic evidence it would seem that the berserkr and úlfheðinn are the same type of cultic warrior. I would like to venture a guess that every initiate was an *úlfheðinn* for a certain period, whereas the *berserkr* was a member of a warrior elite, but this is a guess and no more. The warrior as wolf is Indo-European; the warrior as bear seems to be Germanic.

When we read on in *Völsungasaga*, we have to wonder why such a long and arduous training period was required for a deed which is neither difficult nor heroic. Höfler (*KGG* 188-218) shows that the revenge motif originally had nothing to do with Sigmund and Sinfjötli; they were plugged into someone else's story. The *Beowulf* poet knew concerning the pair that "they had slain with their swords very many of the race of giants." (vv883-4) Fitela (*Sintar-fizzilo*) was Sigemund's nephew, to whom he had told of his far wanderings and valiant deeds, things unknown to the sons of men. Once, when Fitela was not with him, he had killed a dragon and gotten a great treasure; it was for this that he was most famous. (874-84)[57]. Vs.898-900 tell of his widespread fame. Of Fitela the poet knows only that he was Sigemund's friend in need and fellow monster-killer.

In other words, not much is known of the deeds of these two, but two points can be made from what we have said so far. The most

57. *Völs.* and the MHD *Niebelungenlied* know Sigmund's son Sigurð/ Sigfrid as the dragon-slayer. Given the age of the *Beowulf*, Hoops thinks Sigmund was the original dragon-killer (*Kommentar* 111).

important function of the consecrated warriors, of the Männerbünde, is to be a bastion against hostile powers[58]. From the mythic perspective this is part of the battle of the gods against the demons, which on one level was won in *illo tempore*, but on another is ongoing; from the eschatological perspective it is the Einheriar as a bastion against the army of the Wolf; from the perspective of daily existence it is the Ancestors, and the warriors who are in cultic union with them, as the constant defenders against the forces of destruction, whether these are unseen, dæmonic forces, or the tribe across the river[59]. Paradigm and paragon of all demon-defense is the Dragon-Killing myth. The dragon-slayer, although he does his great deed alone, is always part of the context of the Männerbund[60].

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58. Höfler *KGG* 202.

59. "The crushing of the political enemy was another instance of creating and wresting the known order from the destructive and hostile forces around it...Thus, warding off the tribal enemy was seen as a reenactment of the mythical struggle against the chthonic monster *in illo tempore*. The fact that historical events were experienced as a series of acts that followed mythical precedents made the shift from the mythical-religious realm to the political-historical scene a natural one, and vice versa." A.Margaret Arent, "The Heroic Pattern: Old Germanic Helmets, *Beowulf,* and *Grettis saga.*" *Old Norse Literature and Mythology: a Symposium*. Ed.by Edgar C.Polomé. (Austin: U.of Texas, 1969) 141.

60. For example: "Die militärische Organisation, wie wir sie im ältesten Iran finden, ist somit ein kriegerischer Männerbund, verbunden mit dem Kultus eines heroischen Drachentöters, mit Mythen und Riten, in denen der Drache die zentrale Position einnimmt. Die Fahne trägt die Gestalt eines Drachens. Der von diesen Bundesmitgliedern verehrte Hochgott ist

The second is that, according to Höfler, the high point of the life and story of one of these consecrated warriors is to be found, not in any of the events of his life, but in his death, when his lord claims him[61]. This is why we have so many stories of Odin's favorites killed either by him or through his agency. A treacherous god, who betrays his faithful? -- more accurately: a wild god, no more to be controlled than Dionysos; like the latter he can fill his faithful with the god-power and raise them to superhuman heights. But they belong to him, and to claim them is his right.

4.6.2 Dæmon-warriors among the Chatti.

We have seen that there is a period in the formation of the young warrior when he in a liminal state, in *marge*; he is dead as regards his former self as a child, but he has not yet been reborn into the age-set of marriageable men. A frequent outward sign of this state is the total neglect of any form of bodily hygiene. The wild hair and beard of the young Chatti and of Haraldr Lúfa might be a mitigated form of this sign; from there it should not be difficult to evolve to a "special" way of wearing the hair to distinguish age-sets within a tribe or even tribe from tribe, as Tacitus seems to be suggesting in Germania 38. There is no reason to think that the long-haired Achaeans, for example, were unkempt; the earliest *kouros* statues have long hair combed away from

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selber ein Drachentöter, das vollkommene Vorbild der Mitglieder." Widengren, *Feudalismus* 21.

61. "...der dämonische Tod des Gottgeweihten, die Heimholung durch seinen Herrn." Höfler *KGG* 202.

the face and hanging down in neat ringlets, as does Apollo; they are beardless.

But an earlier state of things is recorded in India where, according to the second Upanayana of the Sāmavedins, the rule for the Brahmacārin reads (in addition to letting the hair grow), "You must forgo: sexual intercourse, sleeping in a bed, bathing, combing, brushing your teeth, washing your feet, shaving, eating honey or meat." He also wears an animal-skin. It is understood that this young student is dead. When, "after one or several [!] years in filth," he is washed and shaved, he is reborn -- and "not just outwardly."[62] In other words, this youth, like Sinfjötli, was "really" dead; when he is brought back to life he will be born into the next life-stage like Sinfjötli, who was ready to be full partner in an adult undertaking. We will be devoting the fourth chapter to the Indian material, so I will leave it now without further explanation. But if a more vivid description of this filthy, hairy, ritually dead person in his ratty skin garment, and the prohibitions imposed upon him, is desired, it can be found, again, in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*[63].

And so we see our adolescent as it were between two worlds (*marge*), marked off by his hair-style and clothing, and dead because he has not yet been reborn into the next stage. That is why it is this group

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62. Harry Falk, *Bruderschaft* 70.

63. 100 "Des Teufels rußiger Bruder," 101 "Der Bärenhäuter." Similar folktales are found among the Slavs; Falk (72) cites Lutz Rörich, *Märchen und Wirklichkeit*, 1974; see also Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen*.

which is uniquely suited to make the Dead present at those times of the year when they are active among the living, as we saw in the previous section. But there are among the Chatti, according to Tacitus, men who choose never to give up the wild appearance of the youth. These men remain permanently in *marge*. They are never aggregated into the age-set of mature warriors. They are never reborn. They stand outside the society of the tribe, beyond its amenities, but also beyond its rules. First to rush into battle, they fight in the wild, ecstatic manner of the youth. They are dæmon warriors[64].

4.6.3 Two armies of the dead.

In other words, there were among the Chatti two groups of dæmon warriors: all the adolescent boys, and the elite troops. There is every reason to believe that this pattern could be found in every tribe, although it is nowhere set out as plainly as for the Chatti. In addition to such literary evidence as we have of youth initiations, which, I will grant, requires some reading between the lines, there is ample iconographic

64. The matter of the cowardly and unwarlike, who also continue in marge because they never earn their way out, is something else again. In some African tribes there are warriors who cannot be initiated into the set of adults because they do not have a kraal or a large enough herd to support a wife. Such a man will remain in marge until he has captured enough cattle and land to have a household. In the next section we will see the same thing among the Irish. I suspect that among the Germans, too, something like this, rather than cowardice, was involved. My hunch is that had they been truly unfit for war, their existence would not have been tolerated and they would have been disposed of; Weiser thinks "it is not improbable that they were sacrificed" 38.

evidence of the kind of weapons-dances Tacitus describes in *Germania* 24. These dances would, of course, be stylized military maneuvers; learning the movements was part of the training of the young men. That this training took place in an age-based group, separated and consecrated, can be assumed from the myriad parallels found world-wide and especially within the IE world. To this we will be returning.

The evidence within Germania itself is better for the consecrated adult warrior. Here, in addition to the shock troops of the Chatti, we have the berserks. The latter seem also to have formed groups. In the sagas we normally meet them in groups of twelve, and there are too many groups of twelve berserk brothers[65] for these to be anything but oath-brotherhoods.

In the case of the berserks we know that they are Odin's men. But all these warriors, the youths as well as the adults, were separated and consecrated unto a god. And that god was Wodan. Since no one has ever contested this fact, no proof is needed, and I will simply give a few examples.

Sigmund and Sinfjötli are sent as honor-guard to welcome Eirik Blood-axe into Valhall. Odin had caused Sigmund's death; he did not cause Sinfjötli's, but he personally came and took him after his death[66].

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65. If their names alliterate, or they all have "Bear"-names, they have taken new names upon forming their new relationship.

66. At least everyone seems to agree that the *feriakarlinn* is Odin, come to take the hero to Valhall ("Fra dauða Sinfjötla"); he looks so like the *karl* in the boat in "Hárbarðslioð."

Dedication of hair is connected with Odin. Höfler, following Detter, derives the name of the Odin-protegé Hadding, Saxo's Hadingus, from ON "*haddr*, 'langes Haar'"[67] and explains the Danish name *Odinkar*, attested in the tenth century in the royal lineage, and in four runic inscriptions (*Oþinkar, Oþinkaur*), as the god's name plus *kárr*, "krause Locken"[68]. This is especially interesting as it is one of very few PNN with the name of Odin. As Snorri phrased Harald's vow[69], he could have been thinking only of Odin. And then of course there is Helgi, whose name means "the consecrated," who is Odin's.

Thus we find Wodan connected with another *her*: the ecstatic cultic-warrior band. But these cultic warriors, whether the youthful **koryos* or the adult *Weihekrieger*, are ritually, sacrally dead. And so we confirm what we observed above regarding Wodan's *her*: they are dead.

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67. Höfler, *Sakralkönigtum* 106.

68. Ib.129.

69. The editor of IF says that here Christian words have been put into Harald's mouth; in Harald's *þattr* it says: "Ok þá strengði Haraldr konungr þess heit at lata hvárki kemba hár sitt né skera, fyrr en hann yrði einvaldskonungr yfir Nóregi. Því var hann þá kallaðr Haraldr lúfa." (97 n2) "And then King Harald made this solemn vow, to have his hair neither combed nor cut, until he had become the sole ruling king over Norway. Therefore he was called Harald the Shaggy." It is true that Snorri's version sounds Christian, but Snorri was well aware that Harald was a good pagan, and so, given his portrayal of Odin in *Gylfaginning*, "the god who made me etc" can only be Odin.

4.7. *Mercurius.*

Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, begins the ninth chapter of *Germania*. This god was, of course, Wodan; and the fact that this statement and that which directly follows--*cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent*[70]--must have seemed very strange to Tacitus and his informants speaks for its verisimilitude. Caesar began *Bellum Gallicum* VI, 17 with the same words, but then gives some attributes of this god which do suggest Mercury according to the *interpretatio Graeca*[71]--nothing here about human sacrifices to this god[72].

Certainly Tacitus knew the words of the divine Julius, whether he was echoing them or not. What is more to the point, however, is that Herodotos had said the same thing about the Thracian *kings*: in contrast to the general population, who worship only Ares, Dionysos, and Artemis, the kings[73] chiefly worship Hermes, from whom they claim

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70. "They worship Mercury most of all the gods; they hold it is divine law to sacrifice to him on certain days with even human victims."

71. They regard him as the inventor of all arts and think of him as leader on marches and journeys, and as the most efficacious when it comes to trading or acquiring wealth.

72. Or does the fact that this opening line of 17 follows directly upon the discussion of human sacrifices in 16 imply a connection? According to Reinach, "In Gaul, the name of Mercury having certainly sometimes been given to a god with a purse or pouch who was in reality a god of war, one might wonder if this pouch was not intended, in these cases, in the eyes of the Gauls, to receive not grain, but têtes coupées." 276 N1.

73. "The word 'kings' (βασιλέες) here must be understood to mean not only reigning monarchs in the proper sense, those who really exercised

descent and by whom they swear all their oaths (V, 7). Herodotos' notice, brief as it is, is truly revealing, because the god he calls Hermes is going to show up later as the famous "Thracian Rider[74]." In *Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien*, 1938, Kazarow[75] described 1128 reliefs and statuettes; by his 1953 article the number of objects catalogued had increased considerably. These objects, nearly all of which date from the Roman period (2-4C A.D.) show the Rider as "Jagdgott und Seelenfänger, der die Seelen der Verstorbenen in die Unterwelt abführt, wo sie als Reiter ein glückliches und unsterbliches Leben mit ihrem Gott führen; darum wird der Verstorbene in der Grabinschrift manchmal als Ἥρως oder νέος Ἥρως, κοῦρος Ἥρως bezeichnet." The god himself is called Ἥρως, and by this time he has

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kingly power, but also more generally, all who belonged to the royal stock or the dominant families, all who were united to each other by the ties of blood and faith in their common descent from a divine ancestor whose cult was their monopoly, and who therefore, although they took part in the national worship, felt themselves to some extent separated from and elevated above the rest of the people." The "royal Scythians" also had their own god. Raffaele Pettazzoni, *Essays on the History of Religions*. Trans.by H.J.Rose. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954; 83.

74. This is at least *communis opinio*: Gawril Kazarow, "Zum Kult des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien." *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Universität Leipzig* 3 (1953/54) 135. The situation is complicated by the fact that other gods (Dionysos, Apollo, Asklepius, Silvanus) are portrayed as riders. The pantheon would seem to have grown since Herodotos' visit.

75. Dissertationes Pannonicae, Ser.II, Fasc.14.

become the most popular national god[76]. Some of the carvings show him carrying the human ἥρως to his eternal reward; some show the dead man riding unescorted. These remind us of the Scandinavian carvings (s. above); the latter are more artful, but the religious concept is the same. In several of the reliefs, the Rider has three heads[77].

Now we see what the connection was. Mercury/Hermes is a strange god to appear as the most worshiped, a strange god to be the special god of the ruling class, a strange god, despite his connections with

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76. "[D]ie Tatsache, daß Hermes nur von einer beschränkten Oberschicht ...verehrt worden ist, der Kult des thrakischen Reiters in römischer Zeit in allen Schichten der Bevölkerung große Bedeutung besaß, erkläre sich durch die geschichtlichen Ereignisse: während der makedonischen und später der römischen Herrschaft wurden die sozialen Unterschiede im Volke ausgeglichen. Die fremde Herrschaft hatte auch in Thrakien ein Erstarken der nationalen Besinnung bewirkt, die--weil ihre Betätigung auf politischem Gebiete unmöglich war--einen Ausdruck in religiöser Wiedergeburt gefunden habe; so wird verständlich, daß auch der alte Hermeskult der Könige jetzt allgemeine Geltung erlangte und zwar unter dem ebenfalls fremden Namen *Heros*." Kazarow, Kult 135.
Kazarow goes on to discuss the complex relationship between "Hermes" and the Thracian "Apollo," "Dionysos," "Ares," and "Asklepios." (The problem is, of course, made more complex by the assignment of Greek names.) "So sind einzelne griechische Götternamen bei den Thrakern zu Epitheta des thrakischen Heros degradiert worden... - Was die äußere Gestalt des thrakischen Heros anbelangt, lassen sich drei Stadien unterscheiden. In dem ersten Stadium wurde er wahrscheinlich als Zagreus, das heißt als ein zu Fuß jagender Gott aufgefaßt. In dem zweiten

77. Kazarow *Denkmäler* passim.; Willibald Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit* (Bonn: Dümmler, 1948) 95-98. An obviously archaic feature, shared by many IE divinities; can it be behind the Odensheite *Þriði* and *Þriggi* (144 & 145)?

death, to be the principal recipient of human sacrifices[78]. The aspect of the Thracian and German gods which triggered their identification with Hermes/Mercury would have been their association with death, and especially their role as *psychopompoi*.

Stadium bekam er unter dem Einfluß des Nordens die Gestalt des Rhesos, das heißt eines auf Pferdewagen jagenden Gottes. In dem dritten Stadium erscheint er unter dem Einflusse des Ostens als reitender Jagdgott." 136.

4.7.1 Hermes at the boundaries of space and time.

Hermes' connection with death is a very old one. We find him involved with the worship of the dead in several city-states. Like the dead, he receives offerings at the new moon. At Athens, Hermes and the dead receive equal portions on the feast of the Chytroi, the third day of the Anthesteria. In Argos the thirty days of mourning ended with an offering to Hermes. His character as death-god predominates in Thessaly; Thessaly, Aetolia and the Argive have months named *Hermaios*, which, coming somewhat before or after the Attic *Anthesterion*, seem likewise to be Soul-months. He has a taste for the kinds of food and drink offerings which the dead, as well as the demons

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77. Tacitus says sole recipient in *Germania* 9, but in *Annales* 13,57, he writes of war captives devoted to both Mars and Mercury. "Mercurius," apparently, receives human sacrifices as a regularly recurring aspect of his cult (*certis diebus*), whereas some or all of whatever was taken in battle--weapons, horses, men--was sacrificed to the appropriate tribal god after a victory.

associated with them, such as Hekate, enjoy[79].

But Hermes had another feature, older yet, to which his name bears witness. *Herma* is a pile of stones which marks a boundary line--and also guards it: the phallic herm is aggressive, apotropaic. Thus we find Hermes guarding the doors of private homes[80]; we find him also at crossroads. But the new moon is also a boundary: a boundary between this month and the next; and the Soul-months of Anthesterion and Hermaios come at the boundary between winter and spring in the Mediterranean. So there is an inherent logic to Hermes as death-god and Hermes as border-guard. "Eben am Scheidepunkte der vergehenden alten

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79. S.Eitrem, *Hermes und die Toten* (Christiania: Dybwad, 1909) 41ff.

80. "*hérma* heißt ein Steinhaufen, als künstlich angelegtes Mal, als elementare Form der Markierung...Eine andere, schon vormenschlich angelegte Form der Revierabgrenzung ist das phallische Imponieren, das dann symbolisierend ersetzt wird durch aufgerichtete Steine oder Pfähle. Insofern gehören Steinhaufen und 'apotropäischer' Phallos seit je zusammen....Man hat phallische Holzfigürchen geschnitzt und auf die Steinhaufen gesteckt. Um 520 hat der Peisitratos-Sohn Hipparchos in Athen für solche Male, die die Mitte zwischen den einzelnen attischen Dörfern und der Agora von Athen markierten, die Steinhaufen eingeführt, die dann sich allgemein durchsetzte: ein vierkantiger Pfeiler mit männlichem--zunächst regelmäßig erigiertem--Glied und einem bartigen Männerkopf. Die Obszönität ist durch die geometrische Form aufgefangen und gleichsam neutralisiert. Ein solches Monument hieß schlechtweg 'Hermes'--erst durch lateinische Tradition wurde die feminine Form 'die Herme' eingebürgert. Bald stand fast vor jedem Haus in Athen ein zugehöriger 'Hermes'. Wie Vasenbilder zeigen, fanden oft private Opferfeste an Hermen statt." Walter Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und Klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977) 243f.

und der herannahenden neuen Zeit, des Monats wie des Jahres, wie an der scheidelinien der menschlichen Besitzungen sind die Totenseelen und ihr Gott Hermes (vgl. Hekate und Janus) besonders wirksam."[81]

Let us recall that Odin as Schimmelreiter is also especially active at those liminal times of the year: Yule, the great feast of the changing year; Carneval, when the pagan masked processions were absorbed into the Christian calendar, but surely originally at either the Spring equinox or the actual beginning of spring; and at the last harvest, that is the boundary between autumn and winter. These times of transition are strange times, whether the transition is from month to month, or season to season, or year to year; they are times which are not quite one thing or the other. They are like boundary lines, which are not quite my property or yours, or doorways, which are not quite inside or outside. As Eitrem said, it is at these dividing lines of time and space that the dead and Hermes are particularly active. Why? Perhaps because at times and places of such uncertainty other boundaries might break down: like the one between Here and There.

This is precisely what we see with Odin: at certain boundaries of time, this wild god and his furious host break through. This is folklore, to be sure; but like much of folklore it preserves genuine elements of old religion. But Odin's consecrated warriors, whether adolescents or elite fighters, are in a liminal state, as we saw, either a prolonged temporary, or a permanent, liminality. So Wodan is also connected with boundaries.

Wodan is not Mercury/Hermes. The connection with death and

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81. Eitrem 41f.

with leading the dead must have been the most pronounced feature of this god for the identification, in so many other respects counterintuitive, to have been made.

But there is a big difference between Odin as Totenführer and Hermes. Hermes leads the dead from Here to Hades[82]. Odin, it is true, may personally take his hero to Valhall, but this is chiefly the job of the valkyries. Odin ψυχοπομπός, Odin *Totenführer*, is *Óðinn Herjann*; he leads the dead as members of his various armies: the Einheriar at the end of the age; the Furious Host of the *Manes* at liminal times, to bless and chastise the living; his consecrated warriors into battle.

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82. And then, with his power to bind, makes sure they stay there; Norman Brown, *Hermes the Thief* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin P.,1947) 13. Odin, too, is a "Binder God." They have other features in common, which Tacitus could scarcely have known about, as a reading of the Hymn to Hermes will reveal. This is a case of convergent evolution rather than genetic relationship.

Chapter 5. *Furor Teutonicus.*

Wodan id est furor, writes Adam of Bremen[1], "Wodan, that is, madness," and he describes the statue of the god, outfitted as Mars.

Höfler explained the many facets of this "most multiform" of gods by deriving them all from his role as god of the ecstatic warrior brotherhoods[2]. Adam's words give us precisely this in capsule form: Here is the god as *Herjann*; his very name contains the concept of *ekstasis*.

In this study we will be focusing on a very limited set of Odin's many qualities, those which relate directly to him as *Herjann, psychopomp,* and *Bundesgott.* But when we examine the root upon which his name is formed it will be useful to look briefly at the others.

5.1. **wōþ-*.

The root **wōþ-* is the Germanic outcome of IE **uat- *uāt-*, which is attested in Italic in L. *vātes* and in Celtic in Gaulish οὐάτεις (nom. pl.) and OIr. *fāith*[3]. Like its Celtic cognates, *vates* is part of a sacred and

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1. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* IV, 26. (QB 104)

2. "Ich glaube, daß sein vielumstrittenes Wesen erst faßbar wird, wenn wir ihn als *Gott der ekstatischen Männerbünde* sehen. Da erst, so scheint es mir, treten die vielfachen und scheinbar so widerspruchsvollen Seiten im Bilde dieses berühmtesten Gottes der Germanen zur Einheit zusammen, erst da wird er zur Gestalt." KGG 324.

3. "got. *wods* 'besessen', aisl. *ōðr*, ags. *wōd* ds. (**wōda-*) ahd. *wuot* 'insanitus'; aisl. *øsa* 'rasend, verrückt machen', ags. *wēdan*, ahd. *wuoten*, alts. *wōdian* 'wüten, rasend, verrückt sein'; ahd. **wuot* (Gen.

magic vocabulary. *Vates* was the inspired, the ecstatic, soothsayer[4]. He was also a poet, inasmuch as he delivered his oracles in verse[5]. That Vergil could adopt *vates* as a synonym for the Greek loan-word *poeta* meant that he was both harking back to a presumed golden age of Latin poetry and raising what we might call the "secular poet" to the heights of the god-inspired bard[6]. But the secular use of the word was possible only because the sacred *vates* himself, and religious ecstasy[7], had fallen out of

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wuoti), mhd. *wuot* 'heftige Gemütsstimmung...." Pokorny 1113. Latin *vātes* points to a real IE a. There is no reason to suspect *vates* of being a Celtic loan-word. Both its declension and the way it is rooted in the oldest stratum of the religious vocabulary speak for its antiquity, while the argument advanced against it, that it has no cognates in Latin, is not compelling, given the specialized character of this word. For arguments for and against see Wolfgang Meid, *Aspekte der germanischen und keltischen Religion im Zeugnis der Sprache*. IBS 52 (1991) 26, n.24.

4. "Das begeisterte, aufgeregte Wahrsagen war gewiß dem alten Latium nicht ganz fremd, wie schon das Wort vates lehren kann, das ursprünglich den Rasenden bezeichnete, wie μάντις.... Sein göttlicher Repräsentant ist Faunus, oder die Mehrheit der Fauni, die deswegen auch 'fatui' 'die Schwatzenden' heißen." Walter Otto, "Religio und Superstitio," *ARW* 12 (1909) 553f.

5. Hellfried Dahlmann, "Vates," *Philology* 97 (1947) 346.

6. M.Runes, "Geschichte des Wortes vates." *Festschrift für Universitäts-Professor Hofrat Dr. Paul Kretschmer* (Wien: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1926) *passim*. and, often *contra*, Dahlmann *passim*.

7. Better: *superstitio*. "Der deutliche Wortsinn von superstitio ist 'Darüberstehen' oder 'Hinauftreten'. Wissen wir nun einmal, daß es in ältester Zeit im Sinne der prophetischen Aufregung, der Wahrsagerei überhaupt verwendet worden ist, so kann es nicht mehr schwer fallen, die

use and favor; as W. Otto put it, "der ernste Römer" encountered *enthusiasmos* with distrust and aversion[8].

OIr. *fāith*[9] is also "seer, prophet." The correspondence *vates:fāith* goes deeper. "The close connection between the two terms will be sufficiently apparent from the fact that in both families of languages **kan-* [L. *canere*, OIr. *canid*] is the standing term for the activity of the *vates* or the *fáith*. Cicero writes *quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates* ... in perfect accordance with the usual Irish formula *amail cechain in fáith*."[10] Marstrander concludes, "The correspondences *canit:canid, vates:fáith*

Verbindung zwischen dem Begriff des Hinauftretens, Hinaufsteigens und dem der Aufregung bzw. Prophetie zu finden. Ein bekanntes Wort führt auf den rechten Weg. Dem Griechen ist ἔκστασις der Zustand des begeistert Erregten. ἔκστασις ist ἔκστασις ψυχῆς, Heraustreten der Seele. So ist denn wohl auch superstitio zu verstehen als superstitio animae. Der Unterschied aber besteht darin, daß superstitio nicht, wie ἔκστασις, das Heraustreten der Seele bezeichnet, sondern ihr Hinaufsteigen." W.Otto, Religio 552.

8. "Man sah in der superstitio nur die abalienatio mentis..." Otto quotes Bouché-Leclerc, *Histoire de la divination*, "En somme, la tradition italique, quand elle suit son génie propre, repousse la divination enthousiastique." 554.

9. *fáth (*uātu-)* 'Prophezeihung, Ursache'=cymr. *gwawd*, 'Gedicht'. Pokorny 1113.

10. Carl Marstrander, "A West-Indoeuropean Correspondence of Vocabulary," *NTSV* 7 (1934) 337. "As a whole *canere*, from a semasiological point of view, agrees well with Germanic **galan* (with the verbal noun **gal-ðra-*, cf. with the parallel suffix *-tlo-* Celt. **kan-tlo-* from *canid*)." 336.

point back to a common basis of civilisation. These words are in fact terms for magic conceptions, once held in common by Italic and Celtic peoples...What originated in a prehistoric period common to the ancestors of the peoples who in historic times are termed Celts and Italians, was the sacred, magic use of the word. But this period was also shared by the Teutonic peoples..."[11].

The Gmc. root **wōþ-* was very productive. Its semantic field ranges from insanity to poetry. At base is "madness," and if we did not have the Celtic and Latin cognates it would not be clear what kind of madness this originally was. We have already seen the madness of the warrior in the famous *berserksgangr*; from a late, negative viewpoint this madness was seen as uncontrollable fits of brute aggressiveness[12], as in the sons of Arngrim or the skald Egil's father, but from the original, positive viewpoint it was the transformation of the warrior not only into a ferocious animal, but, even more, into an Ancestor, one of the heroes of the tribe, and, as such, immortal and indestructible. The berserkr and the ulfheðinn were, as we have seen, consecrated warriors, and so their madness, too, is religious ecstasy.

In fact "madness," to earlier peoples, did not mean loss of control; it meant control by Someone Else: inspiration or possession. I suppose

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11. 338. Marstrander makes a convincing case for the existence of a (now defunct) Gmc. verb formed on the root **kan-*, 339ff.

12. Nora Chadwick points to the berserk as an example of heroic ecstasy developed along "pathological" lines. *Poetry and Prophecy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952) 65.

that at the stage at which power is all-important, the question of Who is inspiring or possessing does not come up; at a later, more reflective, stage, this question is very important, and possession is seen as potentially either positive or negative[13].

13. The reflective stage, as regards the warrior, is seen in the *Iliad*, where the formulaic language attempts to come to terms with the two sides of the *Heldenfuror*. This language is studied by Maria Daraki in "Le Héros a *menos* et le héros *daimoni isos*: une polarité homérique." (*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di Letteri e Filosofia, Serie III, Vol X,1, 1980) The hero filled with menos acts as part of his community; he is "un héros défenseur." He whets the *menos* of his troops. Menos comes from an Olympian and is granted in answer to prayer. The hero's very weapons are filled with menos, and often the god is guiding his lance or arrow; the hero is, in fact, an instrument of the god, and the emphasis is not on his strength but on his pliability: Hector, filled with menos by Apollo, is compared to a well-broken horse.

The hero who is like a demon is attacker; he is the lone warrior, bent on individual deeds of glory. He will fight like a beast or a primitive, bare-handed or with a knife, or he will throw stones. He never prays at any point; the power that wells up in him is that of the natural man (as opposed to the civilized, socialized, man, in whom *menos* is god-given virtue). The hero *daimoni isos* is very like Ares, that most hateful of gods. Ares never gives menos; he never **gives** force; rather he **incarnates** force in the warrior who is his servant. This hero is possessed by Ares and cut off from the other Olympians. He is afflicted by ἄτη. A sign of this contrast is the description of the warriors' deeds: The deeds of the hero filled with menos are effective but not gory, while the deeds of the hero *daimoni isos* are described in all their gore, and the hero himself gloats and jeers. A case in point is Patroklos' killing of Hektor's driver (XVI, 737ff). "L'arme utilisée [a rock], les images horribles qui accompagnent la mort de Cébrion et les railleries excessives de Patrocle, font partie de la même *hubris*." The same warrior can be filled with menos in one scene, like a demon in the next. It is thus not a question of good vs. evil men, but rather an acknowledgement of the danger inherent in that fighting machine which is the warrior. Cf.

Gothic *woþs* (*wōds*), "mad, possessed" (Wright 357) must already have developed the pejorative sense of possession, because it translates δαιμονιζόμενος, δαιμονισθείς, "demon-possessed," as in Mark 5:15: *jah gasaíh and þana wodan*, they see the [man who had been] possessed, and 5:18 *saei was wods*, he who had been possessed[14]. Also "possessed" are "aisl. *ōðr*, ags. *wōd*... (**wōda*-) ahd. *wuot* 'insanitus'; aisl. *ēsa* 'rasend, verrückt machen', ags. *wēdan*, ahd. *wuoten*, alts. *wōdian* 'wüten, rasend, verrückt sein'; ahd. **wuot* (Gen. *wuoti*), mhd. *wuot* 'heftige Gemütsstimmung, *Wut*'; ...auf germ. **wōþa*- weist aisl. *ōðr* m. 'Poesie', ags. *wōþ* 'Gesang, Laut, Stimme, Dichtung'" (Pokorny 1113). These are just a few examples. OIc and OE in particular each have an abundant vocabulary formed on this root, covering the entire range from madman to poet.

"Apparently, at a time prior to the departure of these tribes to the south, the ancestors of the Gmc., Celtic, Osco-Umbrian, and Latin-Faliscan peoples constituted a very important cultural subdivision of the North-West-IE linguistic community, sharing important features in their social, economic, religious, and political organization, as reflected by the relevant vocabulary, e.g., Lat. *vātes* 'soothsayer, seer': Gaul. (pl.) οὐατεις 'seer', Ir. *fáith* 'poet', OE *wōþbora* 'poet, orator, prophet', from a root **wāt*- expressing 'divine inspiration', a meaning still preserved by ON *óðr* which designates 'inspired mental activity'--hence the name of the

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Dumézil's "sins of the warrior."

14. καὶ θεωροῦσιν τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον; ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς.

god *Óðinn* (OHG *Wotan*), who presides over such activities as the inspired god, the prince of poets, the master of divinatory runes."[15]

5.2. Óðr.

This word *ódr*, "inspired mental activity," is also the name of a god. Unfortunately, Snorri knows (or assumes?) only enough about him to explain why "Freyja's tears" is a kenning for gold: Óðr is Freyja's husband[16], who is often away on extended journeys, causing her to weep tears of pure gold (Gylf. 34). We learn nothing about why this god should be named "inspired mental activity," but our curiosity is whetted because Snorri's and Saxo's euhemerized Odin also goes off on long trips. And that is all there is to tell about this god, except to add that a *Wode* is sometime leader of the Furious Host in southern Germania[17].

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15. Edgar C. Polomé, "Germanic and the other Indo-European Languages." *Toward a Grammar of Proto-Germanic*, Franz van Coetsam & Herbert Kufner, eds. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1972) 59. See also Marstrander, Correspondence, esp. 337f.

16. Vsp. 25,8 calls her *Óðs mær*, Óð's "girl," which all take to be his wife, although the possibilities are legion and Freyja's reputation is not the best. Hdl. 47,1 says of her *Rannt at Œði/ ey þreyiandi*, you always run longingly after Óðr (but then adds that he is not the only one and goes on to compare her to a goat.) "Auch die Skalden kennen ihn als Gatten der Freyja; Einarr Skúlason umschreibt das Wort "Gold" als *Óðs beðvinu auga regn* [rain of the eyes of Od's bed-friend]; ein Jahrhundert früher hatte Skúli Þórsteinsson dafür die einfachere Kenning *Freyju tör* [F's tears] geprägt." Jan de Vries, "Über das Verhältnis von Óðr und Óðinn," *ZfdP* 73 (1954) 338.

17. Flasdieck 308.

When the gods brought Ask and Embla to life in Vsp. 18,

önd gaf Óðinn, óð gaf Hœnir,
lá gaf Lóðurr oc lito góða.[18]

This is in many respects a puzzling passage. One would like to know why two virtual unknowns are partners with Odin in such an important undertaking, and why it should be Hœnir who gives *óðr*, when he himself is deficient precisely in the area of "inspired mental activity."[19] These questions must remain unanswered, but Snorri can help with the meaning of *óðr*. When he retells the story in Gylf. 9, he paraphrases *óðr* with *vit ok hrœring*.[20]

"Man fühlt, wie er um die Bedeutung dieser Wörter gerungen hat, die ihm offenbar überhaupt nicht geläufig waren; ein Beweis, wie alt diese Strophe, oder jedenfalls der ihr zugrunde liegende Mythos gewesen sein muß. Snorri hat also bemerkt, das *óðr* nicht genau dasselbe wie *vit* bedeutet; eine Umschreibung 'Verstand, Vernunft' kann also nicht die

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18. "Ódinn gave the breath of life, Hœnir gave 'inspired mental activity', Lóðurr gave hair and a good complexion," perhaps. This passage is replete with unknowns, but this is at least a reasonable attempt at translation, dependent on Polomé, "Some Comments on *Voluspá*, Stanzas 17-18, in *Old Norse Literature and Mythology: a Symposium*, ed. by Edgar C. Polomé (Austin: U of Texas, 1969) 265-290. De Vries, Verhältnis, is also helpful.

19. This deficiency being the proximate cause of the severing of Mimir's head; the story is told in Yng.s.4.

20. Faulkes: "vit, n., intelligence, consciousness; hrœring,f., motion, ability to move (or emotion?)."

richtige sein. Er fügt deshalb zur näheren Bestimmung *hræring* hinzu; das bedeutet aber 'Bewegung', auch 'Antrieb, Lust' (vgl. *hugarhræring* 'Erregung'). *Óðr* ist also offenbar nicht einfach 'Geist', sondern 'der erregte Geist'. Palmér hat deshalb die Bedeutung richtiger als 'geistige Aktivität' zu bestimmen versucht. Welcher Art diese Aktivität war, beweist eben das von Snorri danebengestellte *hræring*, denn jeder muß dabei doch wohl an *Óð(h)ræris*[21] [den Dichtermet] denken. Das Substantivum *óðr* bedeutet also genau dasselbe wie das Adjektivum, gleichgültig ob man es als 'Besessenheit, (göttlicher) Rausch, Exstase oder Inspiration' umschreiben will..."[22]

5.3. Óðinn.

Flasdieck wrote, **uōðanaz* "bedeutet...'Herr der Dämonen'...; *Ódr* aber ist noch der alte Dämon schlechthin."[23] In other words, Ódinn: Óðr :: Herjann: Herr. This will not quite work. Herjann, as we saw above, goes back to a Gmc. **harjanaz*, that is, it is formed to the word **harja-*, "army"[24] by means of the suffix -na- (IE -no-); in view of Gk. κοίρανος, C. VN *Coriono-totae*, this would seem to have occurred at the west-IE level. **Wōðanaz* is indeed the same kind of formation, but to a PGmc. **wōða*, not to the PGmc. antecedent of *Óðr*, which would be a u-stem

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21. "der den Geist zur Extase erregt," de Vries WB 416.

22. De Vries, Verhältnis 345.

23. Harlekin 310f.

24. =band of men, raiding party.

**wōðu-z*[25].

But Gmc. **wōða-* would be "inspired mental activity, *ekstasis, Wut.*" How can there be a "leader" of **wōða-*? There are actually two possibilities. The first is that **wōða-* is indeed an abstract noun, meaning something like *ekstasis*. In our discussion of Herjann we quoted Benveniste to the effect that the leader expressed by this -no- formation is the incarnation or personification of his people, just as a divinity whose name is formed this way may incarnate or personify the domain over which he or she presides; thus Neptunus both personifies and presides over the watery domain[26]. Under this analysis **Wōðanaz* would be the personification of **wōða-, ekstasis*; and the ecstatic--to include the mantic, the berserk-fury, the inspiration of the bard--would also be his domain.

The second possibility is to take the **wōða-* upon which Odin's name is formed not as an abstract, that is, not as the PGmc. urform of *Wut*, etc., but as a collective noun, "the people possessed by fury"[27]. As a parallel, Meid suggests *holda* "daemonum turba" (in Burchard von

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25. wōðu-z. *woðuriðe* (urn.) in the 5th century runic inscription from Tune, Norway. G.s.*óðar*; D.s.*æði*.
wōða: OE *wōð*, D.s. *wōdhae* (Cp) Campbell 235.

26. Benveniste *Language* 247; cf. Wolfgang Meid, "Das Suffix -no- in Götternamen, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 8 (1951) 73. An exact parallel would be Σελήνη (<*σελασ-να, from σέλας, "brightness") the moon and the goddess of the moon, who is the personification of radiance (Benveniste *Language* 248).

27.Benveniste *Language* 247.

Worms)[28]. Then **Wōðanaz* would be the Leader of the Furious Host! – and still, in a sense, its incarnation.

Either gives a perfectly acceptable outcome, but the second is likelier[29]; in terms of our analysis of Odin it is preferable. And now, because of the importance of this name, I think it will be worthwhile to include at this point a synopsis of Meid's 1957 article, "Das Suffix *-no-* in Götternamen."

5.3.1. The suffix -no-.

In the West-Indo-European languages there is rather a large number of names of gods and goddesses formed by derivation by means of this suffix.

5.3.1.1. Examples.

Latin *Silvā-nus*, forest and field-god (*silva*, forest, woods).
Volcā-nus, god of fire, "zu einem verlorenen **volcā* = ai. *ulkā* 'Feuerbrand, Flamme, feurige Erscheinung am Himmel.'"
Populō-na (alt. *-ōnia*) by-name of Juno (*populus*, a people, political community).
Quirī-nus, "Gott der Bürgergemeinschaft, wahrscheinlich als **Co-virī-nos* zu lat. *cūria* < **co-viriā* oder volsk. Abl. Sg. *covehriu* (St. **co-virio-*) 'Männerschaft, Bürgerschaft'."

Umbr. *Vofio-ne* (dat.sg.) "ein dem lateinischen Quirinus entsprechender Gott, wahrscheinlich als **Leudhionos* zu ahd. *liuti*, abg. *ljudije* 'Leute, Volk'."

Umbr., Volsk., Mars. *Vesū-na*, ancient Italian goddess, "zu ai. *vásu-*, 'gut; Gut, Besitz'."

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28. *Aspekte* 27. 29. Tip from Prof. Jasanoff.

Gall. *Epo-na*, horse-goddess (Gall. **epos* = Lat. *equus*, horse).
Buxe-nus, by-name of Mars "zu gall. **bocso-*, **bosco-* 'Wald' (vgl. frz. *bois*, italien. *bosco*, gall. ON *Buxea silva* etc.)."

Illyr. *Menza-nas*, "Beiname des Juppiter bei den Sallentinern in Unteritalien: zu einem **mendio-*'(kleines) Pferd'...Dem Gott wurden nach Festus...Pferdeopfer dargebracht."

Lith. *Perkū-nas*, thunder-god of the ancient Lithuanians, worshiped in the oak tree, cf. Lat. *quercus* <**perq"us*. "Urverwandt ist das germanische Paar an. *Fjörgynn–Fjörgyn*."

There are several Gmc. divinity-names in addition to Wodan, Óðinn, among them:
OIc. *Ulli-nn* <**Wulðinaz*, cf. Go. *wulþus* glory; *wulþags* glorious, ἔνδοξος.
Filli-nn, attested only in ON, <**Felðinaz*, cf. AHD *feld*, field.

WGmc. *Verca-na*, AHD *werk*, cf. Gk *Ἐργάνη*, by-name of Athena, to ἔργον, ἐργάζεσθαι.
Hluda-na, "wohl zu ahd. *holda* 'daimonum turba'." (72-74).

5.3.1.2. A "Führersuffix"?

As we saw above, this same formant is used of mortals to indicate the leader of the group to whose name it is suffixed; the suffix *-no-* has thus been called the "Führersuffix." Leader or ruler titles formed in this way are, however, by no means frequent in Germanic[30] and are even rarer in the other languages[31] (75-76).

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30. Got. *þiudans, kindins*; OE *dryhten*; OIc *Herjann*; AFrk *thunginus*. "Hierzu kommt ahd. as. *hunno*, das in Ortsnamen noch in einer älteren Form **hundina-* nachzuweisen ist." 76

31. Latin *dominus, tribunus*; Illyr. *Teutana*, name of a queen. "Das

In fact this suffix is also used to indicate a member of a group, e.g. *Romā-nus, vicī-nus*. "Was aber besonders gegen die Annahme einer 'Führer'-Bedeutung des *-no*-Suffixes ins Gewicht fällt, ist die Tatsache, daß sogar die Führer- und Herrscherbezeichnungen selbst mitunter Entsprechungen mit beiordnender Bedeutung aufzuweisen haben." Thus we have, next to Go. *þiudans*, PNN which designate their bearers as members of the **teuta*: Gall. *Toutonos*, fem.-*a*; Lang. *Teudinus, Theodinus, Todinus*, etc.; as well as the tribal name *Teutoni*[32] (76-78).

Thus the meaning "ruler" or "leader" cannot reside in the suffix. The suffix itself can designate only general relationship. The "leader" terms we looked at above were each formed on the base of a collective noun: people, tribe, army, and so on, but it is not the formation of the word that gives the meaning "leader" (78-79).

5.3.1.3. The suffix -no- in divine names.

When it has to do with the name of a god, of course, there will be

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Keltische bietet nur das dem lateinischen *dominus* semasiologisch entsprechende *tegernos*, das auch hinsichtlich seiner Bildung singulär ist, da es kein reines *-no*-Suffix, sondern das Konglutinat *-rno-* aufweist." 77

32. Or *Teutōnes*, "die als 'Angehörige der **teuta*' bzw. 'Bewohner des **Teuta* (an. *Þióð*) genannten Landstrichs' aufzufassen sind wie die von Plinius und Servius für das voretruskische Pisa bezeugten *Teutani* bzw. *Teutanes* als 'Bewohner und Angehörige des Stadtstaates *Teuta*'." As another example Meid gives the OBrit. tribe of the Coriono-totae; the first part corresponds exactly to Herjann and κοίρανος, yet the tribe can scarcely be the "Volk des Heerführers," but only "Volk der Heerleute, Volk, das aus Kriegern besteht" 78. But in *Aspekte*, p27 n26, he suggests that Coriono-totae means "die Leute des Heerführers (eines Gottes?)," which I prefer: they would be, in Gmc. terms, the people of *Herjann*.

no question of mere membership. Where the god's name is formed on the base of a grouping of people, the god will be the leader and patron of the group: thus *Quirīnus*, god of the *coviriom;* *Populonia*, goddess of the *populus*; and, in Germania, WGmc. *Hludana*, Leader of the *holda*, the throng of demons, and *Wodan*, *Óðinn*, Leader of the Furious Host. In a grammatical sense, then, if this analysis is correct, we find the god as it were risen from the ranks of the ecstatics, the **wōða-*, to the position of leader and patron: *Wodan*, der *Erzwütige*; just as Wodan as *Herjann* was leader of the **harja-*.[33]

5.4. Poets' god and Rune-master.

In a passage quoted above, Edward Polomé called Odin "the prince of poets, the master of divinatory runes." Odin was the poet's god. Two of his most famous heroes, the legendary(?) Starkaðr and the historical Egill Skallagrimsson, were gifted poets. We have seen that the Latin word *vates*, "seer," lived on in the language as "poet"; in Celtic, OIr. *fáth,* Cymric *gwawd* is poem; and the connection is certainly the verse form in which the seer delivered his oracles. One of the most pronounced features of Odin's personality is his obsession with

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33. See N3 to Chapter 2. Meid's article goes on to treat the other possibility, i.e. Wodan as a -no- derivative from a "-tu- Abstractum." Under this analysis, *Óðr* (< **Wōþu-z*), whose name is identical with the noun *óðr*, "is" Ekstasis; *Óðinn-Wodan* is the god who possesses this force, has it at his disposal, and confers it: he is not the force itself, as is *Óðr* (86-89). But we have already said we find the derivation from **wōða-* probable and moreover appealing for reasons which will soon be evident.

knowledge, especially knowledge of the future; thus the myth that he gave one of his eyes in exchange for a draught from Mimir's well of wisdom[34]. But oracles were not the only kind of knowledge to be conveyed in verse. Among pre-literate peoples, all important information, and especially anything that must be learnt by heart, is in verse; the verse form acts as a mnemonic device, and at the same time, the subject matter is lifted out of the domain of the everyday. All the lore that the young IE warrior had to absorb during the period of training in the *Jungmannschaft* was in verse; this would include the history of his people, hymns to the gods and stories about them, as well as general information on how to get along in life in a dangerous and often puzzling world--the sort of gnomic verse represented in the collection known as *Hávamál*[35]. So Odin would have been associated with poetry from the very beginning --thus his role in the myth of the theft of the poets' mead.

He is also, in Polomé's words, "master of divinatory runes." Odin did not invent the runes; he won them by self-torture (*Hávamál* 138-141). In *Germania* 10, Tacitus reports that the Germans had a simple form of oracle, employed on behalf of both state and household, to ascertain the will of the gods about virtually everything. A branch was cut from a fruit-bearing tree and then further cut up into small pieces

34. Plainly an aetiological myth to explain why Odin was called "one-eyed" and "blind" after the real reason had been forgotten and the terms had become puzzling. But the sacrifice for the sake of knowledge is in itself telling.

35. In fact several of the Eddic poems are, or contain, collections of this sort of verse.

which were marked with certain signs and strewn at random over a white cloth. The officiant--priest or pater familias--raises his eyes to the gods and to heaven and picks up three of the lots[36], which will give a yes or no answer.

Concerning *notis quibusdam discretos*[37] Much writes, "One will not go wrong in assuming that these *notae* were called Runes, literally 'Geheimzeichen,' secret signs." (*Germania* 191) Whether these were letters or not cannot be discerned from the passage. Even if the Germans already had runic writing[38], it is likely that these signs were very simple

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36. According to Much, *Germania* 192, *ter singulos* should be read "'dreimal je einen', nicht, was der Wortlaut auch zuließe, 'dreimal alle einzeln'. Die Dreizahl stammt aus Fällen, wo der Bescheid ja oder nein lautete und sicherte in ihnen ein Ergebnis."

37. [The bits of wood] marked with certain signs. "Man wird nicht fehl gehen," writes Much, "wenn man annimmt, daß diese *notae* Runen, *rūnos, buchstäblich 'Geheimzeichen' genannt wurden."

38. Arntz has a lengthy discussion on the subject in which he summarizes learned opinion up to his own time. He points out that in northgermanic sources the word rune is always connected with magic but is connected only indirectly with prophecy. Runes are not used to tell the future; they are used to wake a dead person so that he will tell the future, as in Háv. 157 and Saxo's story (I, 38) about Harthgrepa. Whether or not Tacitus' *notae* were runic letters, "[s]icher ist denkbar, daß man schon vor der Erfindung der eigentlichen 'Runen' irgendwelche magische Zeichen verwandte, die später durch diese abgelöst wurden." (247) Arntz, however, believes in an early date for the first runic writing. He contrasts Caesar's two brief mentions of lots among the Germans (BG I, 50 and 53) with what Tacitus has to say. In I, 50, the *matres familiae* have, by lots and prophecies, *sortibus et vaticinationibus*, determined that it was not the divine will that Ariovistus should fight on that day; in I,

marks cut into the bark[39]. When we consider the word-field of "runes," we will see that there were runes before there was runic writing, and that the letters must have been called runes because they were felt to be secret and magical[40].

53, Procillus reported that lots were thrown three times to see if he should be killed then and there by fire or reserved for later. "Hier haben wir also ein bloßes Überwiegen der Ja- oder Neinstimmen, nichts von Zeichen." Furthermore, Caesar wrote that there was no priesthood among the Germans (BG VI 21). A century and a half later Tacitus tells of a *sacerdos civitatis* distinct from the *rex vel princeps civitatis*. "In diese anderthalb Jahrhunderte fällt die Aufnahme des Runenalphabets bei den germanischen Stämmen. Ich glaube also fest, daß es sich bei Tacitus um Runen handelt....Bei Tacitus unterscheidet...nicht die Mehrzahl der Stäbe, sondern der Sinn, der den einzelnen Zeichen unterlegt werden konnte." Helmut Arntz, *Handbuch der Runenkunde* (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1935) 249.

39. "vielleicht mit eingeriebener Farbe" (191). I am inclined to agree with Much. Tacitus' words suggest a straight yes or no: either the lots forbid X, or they give the go-ahead, in which case further confirmation by augury is required. It is loading *interpretatur* overmuch to see in it some sort of reading of letters; the mere fact that the head of the family could read the *notae* would suggest that these were simple, long-established signs. I can well believe there was runic writing at this time, but not universal literacy.
Another example of the public use of lots is in Bede, who wrote "daß bei den festländischen Sachsen im Kriegsfall einer von den gleichberechtigten Gaufürsten durch das Los zum Herzog bestimmt worden sei." Hans Zeiß, "Herzogsname und Herzogsamt," *WPZ* 19 (1932) 147.

40. Gothic *rūna* is "secret, mystery" (*izwis atgiban ist kunnan rūna þiudangardjos guþis*, Mk.4:11) (ὑμῖν δέδοται γνῶναι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ...); AHD, *girūni* "Geheimnis," *rūnen* "heimlich flüstern," etc.; AHD, AS *rūna* "vertraute oder geheime Besprechung;

Thus we see connected with Odin the activities of the *vātes* and *fáith*, those persons among the Romans and Irish whose titles are related to his name. But they are men, and he is a god. And the root **vāt-* that they share has a broader field in Germanic.

5.5. Ecstasy, Possession, Inspiration, Madness.

"Wie sein Name zum Wortstamm 'Wut' gehört, bleibt er vor allem ein wilder Gott der Besessenheit."[41]

We have seen the practitioner of the mantic art giving his prophecies in verse under divine inspiration in a state of ecstasy. Lest we romanticize ecstasy or sanitize this inspiration, let us recall that the Greeks themselves connected μάντις with μαίνομαι[42]. μαίνομαι is "rave, rage, be furious": this is starting to sound like Odin and his warriors.

In "Arès et Dionysos," M-G Lonnoy points out that in Greek tragedy, the same terms for possession, inspiration, and madness are used about both gods. "Plus généralement, tout le vocabulaire de la possession religieuse est utilisé aussi bien pour le délire bachique que pour

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AS *girūni* "Geheimnis, Mysterium;" OE *rūn* "mystery, secrecy, secret," *rūnian* "whisper, talk secrets, conspire," *rūnlic* "mystical," *ryn(e)lic* "secret, mystical: figurative, sacramental," etc.; cf. NHD *raunen* "whisper," and *Alraun* "mandrake," the mysterious, magical plant.

41. Höfler, *KGG* 340.

42. "If the Greeks were right in connecting μάντις with μαίνομαι--and most philologists think they were--the association of prophecy and madness belongs to the Indo-European stock of ideas." E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley & LA: U of California, 1963) 70.

l'exaltation guerrière: le combattant est possédé par Arès comme la Ménade l'est par Dionysos."[43] The vocabulary of Dionysian possession is used of the warrior (ἔνθεος, βακχάω, θυιάς, μαίνομαι, κατέχεσθαι, and derivations of πνεῦμα and οἶστρος)[44], while Dionysos can threaten to march against Thebes with an army of Mænads, whose weapon is the θύρσος[45]. The very words which are used of Agave possessed by Dionysos in *The Bacchae* are used of the Thracian soldiers in *Hekuba*, but also of Arès himself, who is possessed (κατέχῃ) by the desire for blood and death[46]. The two gods themselves are mad; Euripides calls Dionysos θυρσομανής, the mad god of the thyrsos (*Phoen.* 791); Aeschylos calls Ares "raving," μαινόμενος (*Seven* 343) and Sophocles calls him οἰστρηθείς[47] (*Trach.* 653).

Warriors inspired by Ares are possessed by a furious madness expressed by μαίνεσθαι. But Dionysos can also possess an army. "Thus, at times, you see an army mustered under arms stricken with panic before it lifts a spear. This panic comes from Dionysos." (*Bacch.* 302-4[48]) "Le

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43. Marie-George Lonnoy, "Arès et Dionysos dans la tragédie grecque: le rapprochement des contraires." *REG* 98 (1985) 67.

44.Ib.68f. 45.Ib.69. 46.Ib.68

47. 68f. "La métaphore exprimée par ce dernier participe, qui désigne la folie provoquée par la piqûre d'un aiguillon (οἶστος), a pour point de départ le mythe d'Iô, harcelée jusqu'au délire par un taon, et est reprise à propos des Bacchantes aiguillonnées par Dionysos." (*Bacch.* 32, 117-119, 795) (69)

48. *The Bacchae*, trans. William Arrowsmith. *The Greek Tragedies*, Richmond Lattimore & David Grene, eds (New York: Modern Library,

délire qui s'empare des guerriers est donc à double sens, puisqui'il peut mener aussi bien à l'heroïsme, s'il vient d'Arès, qu'à la fuite, s'il vient de Dionysos."[49] Yet Dionysos can give amazing power to his own army of bacchantes, as the Theban messengers can attest who have seen these women tear living animals apart and rip out trees by the roots with their bare hands, while they themselves were impervious to weapons: "the mens' spears were pointed and sharp, and yet drew no blood, whereas the wands the women threw inflicted wounds. And then the men *ran*, routed by women!" (*Bacch.* 761-4) Their strength, like their invulnerability, came from Dionysos. Let us recall what Snorri said of Odin: "In battle Odin could make his foes blind or deaf or terrified and their weapons were as nothing more than sticks; ...[as to his own men] they slew men, but neither fire nor steel would deal with them." (Monsen 5)

5.5.1. Ecstasy.

Odin's men are invulnerable because they fight in an ecstatic state. Since the word "ecstasy" is bandied about rather loosely now-a-days, whereas for the purposes of this study it is a religious term, it will be worthwhile to define ecstasy as it was manifested in ancient religions. I will be following Maass, "Zur psychologischen Sonderung der Ekstase,"[50]

1942-1959) Vol.7.

49. Lonnoy 70.

50. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 3 (1954) 297-301. Maass was with the Institut für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft der Humboldt-Universität in East Berlin. His own interest

greatly truncated and not necessarily in order.

Though it is common to use the word ecstasy or ecstatic to describe the heightening of an individual emotion, it seems clear that it meant nothing less than the shaking up of the person's entire nervous system. It is experienced as an intoxication; it is the source of powers far beyond the ordinary; as with any intoxication, it is followed by sobriety. The mind, or consciousness, is raised to the point where it is cut off from the sensations of the body, and the real world, with its limitations, has been left behind. It is distinguished from mental illness in that it will be clearly recognized by outsiders who know the ecstatic as completely anomalous; furthermore it is a temporary condition, though it may last a rather long time. Lastly, in all ancient accounts ecstasy is bound to cult; in all cases, the ecstatic's condition is brought about by the cult or serves the cult; it is always in some sense religious[51].

The attainment of the ecstatic state is sometimes the result of

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was in the Nebiim. His article is useful because he approached the subject as a serious student of religion. There are, needless to say, more recent works on this topic. The two most often referred to, W. La Barre, *The Ghost Dance*, and I.M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, are anthropological studies and, in my opinion, flawed as studies of religion; if nothing else, they overgeneralize.

51. Höfler stressed the nature of the cultic ecstasy which we will be seeing: "diese Art der kultischen Daseinssteigerung bedeutet nicht schweifenden Genuß, sondern...eine **verpflichtung an die Toten.**" It allows the individual entry into the supra-individual community of union with the Dead--with his own Dead. "Diese kultische Daseinsteigerung bedeutet also...Verpflichtung, nicht Hinsinken, sondern Aufbau bindender Gemeinschaft mit den Vorfahren" KGG ix, emph. Höfler's.

ingenious techniques of preparation and even violent exertion, whereas it can also come over a person suddenly and against his will. Maas does not deal specifically with "substances," but, while not all intoxication is ecstasy, halucinogenic and other substances have an honorable history in many cults as a means of acchieving this state. Indra grows into what in Thor would be his *Ás-megin* by drinking Soma: after three draughts of Soma he is ready to kill Vṛtra. In ancient Iran *haoma* (=soma) turned men into wolves. Herodotos tells how the Scythian men got high by burning hemp seeds and inhaling the smoke. Wine is of course sacred to Dionysos, and it is not surprising that Odin is the god who stole the poets' mead from the giants.

One has only to leaf through the "Soma" section of Wendy O'Flaherty's selection of Rig Vedic hymns to get a good sense of the kind of rapture the ecstatic experienced, in this case as the result of a drug.

> We have drunk the Soma; we have become immortal; we have gone to the light; we have found the gods. (VIII.48,3)
>
> Weaknesses and diseases have gone; the forces of darkness have fled in terror. Soma has climbed up in us, expanding. We have come to the place where they stretch out life-spans. The drop we have drunk has entered our hearts, an immortal inside mortals. (Ib. 11, 12)
>
> In my vastness, I surpassed the sky and this vast earth. Have I not drunk Soma?
> Yes! I will place the earth here, or perhaps there. Have I not drunk Soma?
> I will thrash the earth soundly, here, or perhaps there. Have I not drunk Soma?
> One of my wings is in the sky; I have trailed the other

below. Have I not drunk Soma?
I am huge, huge! flying to the cloud. Have I not drunk Soma? (X.119, 8-12)

And then there is the famous hymn of the long-haired ecstatic, who drinks a drug ("probably some hallucinogen other than Soma") from Rudra's cup: Long-hair holds fire, holds the drug, holds sky and earth. Long-hair reveals everything, so that everyone can see the sun. Long-hair declares the light.
These ascetics, swathed in wind, put dirty rags on. When gods enter them, they ride with the rush of the wind.
'Crazy with asceticism, we have mounted the wind. Our bodies are all you mere mortals can see.' (X.136, 1-3)

Long-hair drinks from the cup, sharing the drug with Rudra. (7)

Note that this *Keśin*--"Long-hair"--identifies himself and his companions as ascetics; from verse 3 it would seem that their rapture is at least in part the result of asceticism. There is no contradiction in this.

5.5.2. *Furor Heroicus.*

P.L.Henry, in the article whose title I have borrowed for this section heading, remarks, "It is an extremely interesting fact that in Old Indic the term *tápas-* 'heat', cognate with Irish *ten* 'fire' and *té* 'hot' should apply not to the ardour of the warrior but to that of the brahman in the sense of 'religious mortification'."[52] Very interesting indeed, though it will seem natural enough when we have met the *vrātyas*, "warrior brahmins," in the fourth chapter. Commenting on RV X.136,

52. *ZCP* 39 (1982) 236.

from which we have just quoted, Oldenberg writes, "Dies Lied schildert lebendig das orgiastische Treiben der alten vedischen Welt, noch unveredelt von dem Erlösungsdurst, der die Asketen buddhistischer Zeiten im Innersten bewegte, noch ganz in die rohen Formen des wilden Medicinmännerthums gebannt."[53] On the whole, he continues, the Vedic world preferred to keep this sort of wild ecstasy at a distance. Yet Oldenberg recognized in the rite of the Dīkṣā[54] the attempt to reach this state by asceticism; we will not go wrong, he writes, "wenn wir den Vollzieher dieser Weihe, der hungernd und wachend, stammelnde Sprache redend, in das Antilopenfell gehüllt neben dem dämonenverscheuchenden Zauberfeuer sitzt, den der Ethnologie so wohlbekannten Typen der wilden Zauberpriester, welche durch Kasteiungen Besessenheit zu erreichen suchen, vergleichen."[55] Heesterman has gone farther, recognizing in the Dīkṣā one aspect of the vrātya, and Falk saw yet another aspect of the warrior brahmin in the *brahmacārin*, the tapas-filled Brahman-pupil whose experience, "Er geht in einem Augenblick vom östlichen zum nördlichen (?) Meer" (AV XI.5, 6), Oldenberg compared with that of the *keśin* of RV X.136, "the ascetic lives in the two seas, on the east and on

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53. Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin: Hertz, 1894) 406.

54. The *dīkṣā* is a rite of consecration "which has as its goal 'the new birth,' i.e. initiation into a higher stage of life." Jan Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* I (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960) 151. The man who consecrates himself in this way is a *dīkṣita*.

55. Oldenberg 407.

the west."[56]

Interesting, too, is the experience of vastness of the soma-drinking ecstatic of RV X.119 ("I am huge, huge," etc.), since this is one way the Irish warrior experienced the *furor heroicus*. Of Cú Chulainn it is written that he "swelled and grew big as a bladder does when inflated ...and the valiant hero towered high above Fer Diad..."[57] Beowulf's strength of thirty men is part of the same syndrome, though the Christian poet ascribes it to a gift of God; of Beowulf, too, are terms of "enlargement" used: "*eacen* (198), p.pl.: Gothic *aukan* 'increase' ...in 709...he is said to be distended in spirit (*bolgenmod*)."[58]

Cú Chulainn is not only enlarged, he is transformed: "he is said to become horrible, many-shaped and unrecognisable."[59] A more common transformation of the ecstatic warrior is into a beast of prey, usually a wolf or bear[60]. And this takes us back to our *berserkir* and *úlfheðnar*, demonic cultic warriors.

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56. Verse 6 in Griffith's translation reads, "Lighted by fuel goes the Brahmacārī, clad in black-buck skin, consecrate, long bearded. Swiftly he goes from east to northern ocean, grasping the worlds, oft bringing them anear him."

57. *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, ed. C.O'Rahilly, Dublin 1967, p.228, quoted in Henry, p.235.

58. Henry 237. 59. Ib. 235.

60. Also the boar; Henry reminds us that OIc. *iöfurr* is a poetic term for prince, cf. OE *eofor* 'boar', just as "Old English poetry has generalized *beorn* (=O.Icel. *biörn* 'bear') in the sense of warrior (as sometimes in O.Icel. poetry) and later weakened it to 'man'" (240).

5.5.3. War-Dances.

Ecstasy, let us not forget, was part of cult; it was brought about by established cult practices--partaking of Soma was a cult practice--and was never a goal in itself, but rather a means to a (cultic) goal[61]. After drinking Soma, Indra killed Vṛtra and freed the waters. Mortals strove for contact or union with the immortals, for revelations of secret wisdom, for enhanced creative or other powers. The means used were many; in India they included contemplation in a lonely spot; breathing exercises, to include prolonged holding of the breath; various sorts of self-torture; and above all, fasting.[62] When the *dīkṣita* is emaciated, it is written, then he will be pure enough for the sacrifice; but Oldenberg adds that self-torture through heat seems to have been part of the rite, since the dīksita sits by his fire, blanketed in an antilope skin, his head wrapped in a

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61. We must also keep in mind that ecstasy does not mean loss of control. As Nora Chadwick writes in her study of shamans, "it is important to emphasise the seer's perfect mastery and control, not only of his artistic material, but also of his own movements....He knows exactly how far to go in his spiritual journey, when to stop, and how to prepare himself and his audiences for a return to the material world." 60f. The divorce from reality is from the limitations of reality, allowing a total focus on the one skill or power, whether this is composing verses ("We have seen that in the best recorded displays of even the most backward peoples the seer during ecstasy is able to compose extempore and recite an elaborate poetical composition" ibid.61) or using weapons in a dance or a battle (οἶδα δ' ἐνὶ σταδίῃ δηίῳ μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηι, Hektor to T. Ajax, *Iliad* VII, 241.)

62. Gonda, *Religion* 183ff; Oldenberg 401f.

turban[63]. Van Hamel writes of both fasting and exposure to the elements, separately or together, as means men used in pagan Ireland and Scandinavia to increase their powers[64].

Of all the Rigvedic gods, Indra is the dancer *par préférence,* and his frequent companions, the Maruts, are also dancers. It is very likely that ecstatic dance was a common cultic means of enhancing powers[65]. In Saxo we read of a weapons-dance as part of a victory celebration after a duel, but also in anticipation of one[66]. Tacitus described a spear-dance in *Germania* 24; this is in the profane setting of a dinner and is done for the amusement of the guests. Xenophon describes, in more detail, a similar dinner entertainment; the Thracian sword-dance has the form

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63. Oldenberg 402.

64. A.G.van Hamel, "Óðinn Hanging on the Tree," *APS* 7 (1932) (still the most rational article I have read on the subject) explains Odin's nine days and nights of exposure to wind and weather without food or drink "as a primitive magical practice, intended to actualize the God's *ásmegin* and to enforce the submission of the runes." 288

65. "Daß Indra einige Male ein Tänzer genannt wird...und die māyābesitzenden Aśvin tanzende Helden..., dürfte auf das Bekanntsein mit kraftschaffenden ekstatischen Tänzen hindeuten." Gonda, *Religion* 184. Indra and Maruts as dancers, v.Schroeder, *Mysterium* 47ff, 106ff.

66. In celebration of the Danish prince Uffo's double victory over two Saxons in Book 4, and before Starkad's duel with the Saxon champion Hama in 6. In Fisher's translation, both instances are made to sound like mere processions, but *tripudium* is the three-step dance of the Salii; I doubt Saxo used the term randomly. See Hauck, Herrschaftszeichen 43. Tacitus reports that Civilis' troops danced the *tripudium* "as was their custom" before a battle (*Histories* V.17).

almost of a little drama (*Anab.*6,1,5)[67]. "Auch die πυρρίχη der Spartaner gehört hierher," adds Much (321). But the Pyrrhic was no profane dinner distraction: it was god-given. The Doric Cretans credited its invention to the Kuretes, the Spartans to the Dioskouroi; at the Panathenaia it celebrated Athena's victory over the Giants. It was a "mimic war-dance...representing attack and defence in battle" (*DCA* 530); thus a mini-drama like the Thracian sword-dance described by Xenophon.

Now it is interesting that on very many of the helmet plates and bracteates we have mentioned, the principles are shown in positions which can only be described as dancing, that is, the legs are in unnatural positions, or the limbs of two (or more) of the characters are crossed or entwined in some odd way. In many others they might well be dancing, and in still others, if Beck is right, we may be looking at a dramatic scene[68]. If we take, for example, the Torslunda die-plates of Beck's article, we see in (I) that the position of the feet and legs of the man between the two (somewhat stylized) bears, and the resulting 90° turn of his body, are in that leaping-and-dancing mode which has been identified on so many similar objects[69]. One hindfoot of the bear on the left is upon

67. S.a. Gawril Kazarow, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker* (Sarajevo: J.Studrucka, 1916) 56f.

68. Stanzen passim.

69. "These boldly leaping tumblers, the pathetic Chaplainesque figures and the horn-helmeted sword dancers, however, are all captured in the same kind of action, the dance, and this is what characterizes their appearance. Further there is no doubt that they were very special dances

the sole of the man's foot[70].

In (III) we have two (intentionally not quite identical) warriors holding upright massive spears, swords in their right hands, with huge boars on their helmet crests. They are in profile and there is nothing in their position to suggest a dance-step, but the spears and boars are so large that the men's attire must be ceremonial. The same must be true of the famous horned helmets of the Finglesham man, the pair of dancers on the Sutton Hoo helmet, and the dancer in Beck's plate IV, among many others. Such ornamentation is top-heavy and would have a warrior off balance; the helmets of the Cornuti, a "horned" German contingent in Constantine's army, had small goats' horns.[71] Thus I think it likely that these figures, too, are dancers[72].

-- dances with their own particular evolutions and attitudes which were familiar to everybody at that time. The similarity of the presentation of the scheme of movement in different materials and in different, widely separated, places clearly shows that they were well-known phenomena, which must have belonged to the realm of cult and ritual dances..." Wilhelm Holmqvist, "The Dancing Gods," *AA* 31 (1960) 103f.

70. Beck, Stanzen 238f.

71. Andreas Alföldi, "Cornuti: A Teutonic Contingent in the Service of Constantine the Great and its Decisive Role in the Battle at the Milvian Bridge," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), esp. fig.4.

74. Holmqvist had the same thought concerning figures on a small gold plaque from Helgö, Sweden (fig.11 in his article). "Other male figures are spear-bearers, and so become associated with the figures on the Torslunda plates and on the helmets. Such being the case it is not, naturally, impossible that they are dancers, perhaps marching up to a dance of the kind depicted for instance on the helmet from Sutton Hoo." 109

In (IV) we find the scene described in 1.3.3: a warrior in a wolf-mask, following a one-eyed spear-dancer in a horned helmet. As Beck says, "Das lenkt bereits--in Verbindung mit dem Wolfskrieger--die Aufmerksamkeit auf den einäugigen Odin"[73]. Hauck had phrased it more forcefully: "Der Befund weist uns also mit Sicherheit auf Odin-Woden im Waffentanz"[74].

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73. 239. "Gewiß ist ferner, wenn auch erst jüngst entdecked, daß der Schwerttänzer von Torslunda als einäugig bezeichnet werden muß. Im Gegensatz zu dem klar markierten linken Auge ist die 'rechte Augenhöhle leer...Eine genaue Betrachtung des Originals bestätigt ebenso wie eine Detailphotographie, daß wir es hier nicht mit einer Beschädigung (der Platte) oder einer Undeutlichkeit in der Schnitzung zu tun haben'." Hauck, Herrschaftszeichen 46f, quoting Graf Oxenstierna, *Die Goldhörner von Gallehus*.

74. Herrschaftszeichen 47. But Alföldi claims that on the Sutton Hoo helmet (fig.7 in "Cornuti") there are two one-eyed, horned dancers; they cannot both be Woden, and this, then, casts doubt on the Torslunda figure (176). If this were true, of course, it would be a great loss because, as was stated in the first chapter, we have otherwise no absolute iconographic evidence for a one-eyed Wodan. Hauck insists that there is no one-eyed dancer on the Sutton Hoo helmet, though he writes this with reservation, since the head of only one dancer is preserved, the other being reconstructed as a mirror image of the first (48), and Alföldi himself noted that the two dancers are almost, but not quite, mirror-image twins. I have not yet seen a photograph from which I would dare to draw any conclusions; the one accompanying Alföldi's article shows, above all, the poor condition of the plate. The condition of a similar plate from Valsgärde VII makes it all but impossible to see such detail; nevertheless, Hauck thinks ein-äugigkeit improbable, 48 n209. The remaining Torslunda plate, Beck's (II), shows a man, naked from the waist up, holding a monster on a massive chain or rope. The beast is a "Tier sui generis" (239). The scene suggests to Beck the many stories of the Germanic hero overcoming "Untiere bzw. Unholde" [the kind of

5.5.4. Dancing Gods.

Hauck makes bold to say: "Odin-Woden selbst ist in der Vorstellung des germanischen Heidentums als Waffentänzer lebendig. Waffentanz und Woden-Religion gehören ähnlich eng zusammen wie der Waffentanz der römischen Salier mit der Marsverehrung."[75]

The very same view was expressed in 1908 by Leopold von Schroeder in *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*. The *Mysterium* of the title is the cult drama; *Mimus* is the mimetic dance. That the latter is well-attested in the Indo-European world we have already seen in part; that the former, the cult drama, can develop from the mimetic dance will seem clear from the above. As it happens, Germania has preserved numerous examples of both, and von Schroeder describes several of them.

5.5.4.1 *Mysterium* and *Mimus* in the *Anabasis*.

Before we turn to Germania, however, I would like to look at Xenophon's description of the dances by which he was entertained in

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creature that in the north goes under the catch-all designation of *trollr*]. Since these monsters are often impervious to ordinary weapons, the hero must frequently resort to wrestling or strangling, and this, Beck suggests, may be the reason for the chain (242ff). "Die Drosselung ist so kunstvoll ausgeführt, daß das Untier mit jeder Bewegung seiner Pranke den würgenden Zug verstärken muß" (239). When we recall that "monster killing" is a common feature of initiation tales (3.5.1), it seems possible that we have in this tiny plate a scene from a cult drama. And since, as we have just seen and are about to see in more detail, little dramas often formed a part of weapons-dances, it may be that the dance is reflected in all four of the Torslunda plates.

75. Herrschaftszeichen 48.

Paphlagonia, because in these primitive entertainments, described by a first-hand witness who is also a skilled journalist, we will see features which will turn up again and again[76].

> When libation had been made, and they had chanted the hymn, first Thracians got up and danced to the pipes fully armed, leaping high and lightly and using their swords; at last one struck another, and all thought he really wounded him, but the man only fell in a clever way on purpose; and the Paphlagonians shrieked aloud. The other stripped off his arms, and went out singing the Sitalcas[77]; others of the Thracians carried him out like a corpse, but he had no harm.
>
> After this, the Ainianians and Magnesians rose, and danced in full armour what they called the Harvest Song. The method of dancing is, that one lays down his arms, and sows, and drives the plow, turning again and again as in fear. A raider approaches; the other looks out, and picks up his arms, and goes to meet him, and fights in front of the yoke. These also did their play in time with the pipes. At last the raider ties up his man and drives the oxen away; or sometimes the plowman ties up the raider, and then fastens him beside the oxen, and drives him with hands fastened behind his back.
>
> After this a Mysian came in with a light shield in each hand. Sometimes he danced in mimicry of two men fighting; sometimes he used the shields as if against one, and then he twirled about and threw somersaults out of the door holding the shields, and a rare good show it was. At last he danced the Persian, clashing the shields together, crouching and jumping up; and all this he did in time with the pipes.
>
> Next Mantineans and other Arcadians rose, arrayed in their finest accoutrements, and keeping time with the pipes,

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76. The passage is from Book VI, chap. 1; Rouse 138-9.

77. "the national hymn, named after the national hero," Rouse 138.

> did the march-at-arms, and chanted their hymn, and danced as they do in processionals before the gods.
>
> When the Paphlagonians saw these, they said how strange it was that all the dances were done under arms.[78]

In the last group, the Arcadians, we have an armed dance which is evidently connected with religious festivals. The Mysian performs several mimetic dances. The "Harvest Song" of the Ainianians and Magnesians is a little drama. The title is interesting because the play is actually about the spring planting; presumably it is a bit of "kultische Abwehr" which will guarantee a harvest. The dance of the Thracians is on the borderline between mimetic dance and drama. Thus we have, in the course of a single evening, the whole range, from dance, through *mimus*, to *mysterium*. The "Harvest Song" should warn us to be cautious about

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78. The text continues:

> The Mysian saw their astonishment, and persuaded an Arcadian, who owned a dancing girl, to dress her in her finery, and let him bring her in with a light shield in her hand. She danced the Pyrrhic daintily. Then there was loud applause, and the Paphlagonians asked if these women fought by their side. They said yes, it was the women who drove the Great King out of camp. This was the end of that night.

This is something we will **not** see again, but I have included it in the interest of political correctness. Only among the Greeks do we see the young girls receiving athletic training alongside their brothers; this is well attested for Sparta, but Arcadia was also a conservative area. Likewise it is only in Greece that we find, corresponding to the host of female dæmonic beings common to all IE peoples, flesh and blood Maenads. In Germania, as we have seen, these beings, for instance the Perchten, are played by men.

separating "military" functions from "fertility," either in cult itself or in the nature of the divinities to whom the cult is directed. Life is rarely that simple, and the best sort of god is one who will advance the interests of his or her people in many different life situations.

We ought to note, too, before moving on, that the dinner at which the dances were performed was scarcely a profane matter. The Hellenes had been supplementing their purchases at the market with raids on the Paphlagonians. The latter responded by waylaying Greeks whenever the opportunity presented itself. Finally the Paphlagonian king sent an embassy to the Greeks, with appropriate gifts, for the purpose of making an agreement to "live and let live." This was actually accomplished the next day, following a vote by the Greek soldiers, but the night they arrived the ambassadors were offered hospitality, and the banquet was preceded by a sacrifice; thus, even though no treaty was signed, the Paphlagonians and Hellenes were in the sacred relationship of guest-friendship for that evening. The entertainment itself was preceded by a libation and a hymn. Again, we must use caution in assigning categories.

5.5.4.2 The Sword-Dance in Germania.

The sword dance persisted in Germania[79] into the early part of this century with the same tenacity as the Wild Hunt.

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79. To include former German/Germanic speaking areas which are now French or Slavic-speaking, and even Spain, a legacy of the Goths. See Richard Wolfram, "Sword Dances and Secret Societies," *JEFDSS* 1 (1932) 34-41. The kind of sword-dance which has persisted, however,

The dance is often mixed with a kind of folk drama. Sometimes there is only the play, the name alone revealing the origin; more often there is only the dance, not uncommonly preceded by a prologue in verse giving the dramatic situation. These dances are serious but are often spiced with slapstick. The principal times of the year for performances are around Christmas and Holy Week, the same times as the Wild Hunt; May Day and weddings are also popular occasions. The dancers typically wear white shirts; often they wear bells around their legs; usually only the leader or lead dancer wears a hat[80].

The sword dance is the privilege of certain guilds or closed societies, generally of young, unmarried men. "The fact that all these dances are danced by men only is certain proof of their ritualistic

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is not the kind described by Tacitus, in which the sword is plainly a weapon, the Pyrrhic type, but rather the link-and-point variety, in which the sword is a prop in a line-dance, linking the dancers in a garland which makes sinuous movements; "its pleasure is in the play of the moving line." (Wolfram, Sword-Dances 34-38.) Both types are of a high antiquity. The link-and-point type, also called the Labyrinth-dance, is the type of the dance which celebrated the safe return of Theseus and the Athenian youths and maidens. (See J.Moreau "A propos de la danse des Saliens," *Latomus* 6 (1947) 85-89.
Davidson, however, writes, "it seems firmly established that, contrary to popular 19th-century theories, the chain sword-dances which still continue in many parts of England could have had no direct connexion with Viking war-dances." (Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, et.al., "The Finglesham Man" *Antiquity* 39 [1965] 27)

80. Von Schroeder, *Mysterium* 107f.

character."[81] Again we have a parallel to the Wild Hunt, which was originally the province of the elite Männerbünde, but when these no longer functioned, rather than being open to all and sundry, became the privilege of other closed groups of men: miners, artisan guilds, even chimney-sweeps. "[T]hese men's societies have warlike as well as ritualistic functions. The latter consists chiefly in the representation of the spirits of their ancestors, the army of the dead."[82] Not surprisingly, we often find some of the features of the Hunt, such as the *Heischerecht*, associated with the societies of dancers[83]. Regarding the secret societies of the early thirties, Wolfram wrote, "They live like the other people in the village, but they disappear at certain ritualistic times and perform their rites and dances, although for the most part they no longer know what they mean"[84].

The number of dancers varies. Seven is a popular figure, but the dancers of Breslau of von Schroeder's time numbered thirty-six, and there were groups of all sizes inbetween. An interesting group of seven on Papa Stour in the Shetland Islands was described in the nineteenth

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81. R.Wolfram, Sword Dances 38. 82. Ib.39.

83. "So schildert uns Wallis in seiner history of Northumberland (1769) den dort üblichen Schwerttanz, der zu Weihnachten, 'the yule tide of the druids', aufgeführt wird. Da ziehen junge Leute in seltsamer Kleidung mit Musik von Haus zu Haus, führen den Schwerttanz (sworddance) auf und erhalten dafür kleine Spenden." v.Schroeder, *Mysterium* 115. On the guilds and the Hansa derived from the Männerbünde, s. Benveniste, *Language* 63-65.

84. R.Wolfram, Sword Dances 40.

century. The Master introduced himself as Saint George and his six companions as champions from all over Europe. He alternately danced and praised his great deeds, introduced each of his champions in turn with similar praise and called upon them to perform solo dances as he had done. Saint George is frequently the leader in the English dances, though the dance itself appears in many forms. Washington Irving described a "dance," performed at Christmas-time, in which a Leader recited an old ballad about Saint George and the dragon while a Fool clowned. A "Schwertfechterspiel" in Claustal im Harz was a drama with seven characters, one of whom, Snortison, was slain, only to come to life and dance again[85].

Morris Dancers--sometimes with blackened faces[86]--may be connected with Saint George and the Dragon. Robin Hood is often the leader of the Morris Dancers[87]. Another common variant includes the killing and resurrection of the Fool, who is the leader of the sword-dancers[88].

But one which is of especial interest to us is the so-called Giant-Dance in Yorkshire:

> Vermummte Landleute führen ihn im Herbste auf. Es scheint eine Art Schwerttanz gewesen zu sein, da die

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85. Von Schroeder, *Mysterium* 109-112.

86. Wolfram, Sword Dances 41.

87. Robin Hood is Odin! see Wolfram, "Robin Hood und Hobby Horse."

88. V.Schroeder, *Mysterium* 113-117.

> Haupthandlung darin bestand, daß zwei Schwerter um den Hals eines Knaben geschwungen und geschlagen wurden, ohne ihn zu verletzen. Besonders wichtig aber ist der Umstand, daß der vornehmste Riese hier Woden genannt wird[89], seine Frau Frigg. Das zeigt uns die mythologische Bedeutung des Tanzes unzweifelhaft deutlich. Und wenn wir hier Woden selbst als riesischen Tänzer auftreten sehen, als den Obersten einer riesischen Tänzerschar, so gewinnen wir einen neuen und wichtigen Zug im Bilde des Gottes, der ihn dem wilden Tänzer Rudra-Civa noch ähnlicher macht, -- einen Zug, von welchem wir sonst bei Woden-Odin nichts hören und der unzweifelhaft alt und echt sein wird[90].

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89. Cf. "Mercurius the Giant" of the OE rune poem.

90. *Mysterium* 118. It may be that there is additional iconographic evidence for a dancing Woden in the Wilmington Giant or Long Man of Wilmington. (This is a *real* giant, 226ft. from head to toe, on a chalk-hill in Sussex.) Christopher Hawkes sees in the Long Man a strong resemblance to the little Finglesham Man. He thinks the giant was originally wearing a horned helmet, and the "staves" in either hand are the typical spears, and suspects "a deliberate suppression ...of everything martial and barbaric there may have been about him." (S. Hawkes, et.al., 29) If, like the F.M., he dates from the 7th century, then he belongs to pagan Sussex, though his style is Swedish. Christians later deprived him of his horned helm, his spear-heads, and some other features. "To sum up: behind the fancies are three facts--this figure's likeness to a Finglesham buckle-man disarmed, his more general Swedishness in style (not forgetting the feet), and his measured proportions and relation to topography. I think one now may claim them, together, as a clue to the Long Man's mystery." (27-30.)
Much, after his sum. of the literature on the sword-dance in Germany and England, concludes, "Die Berichte über die deutschen Schwerttänze sprechen sehr für die Annahme, daß der von Tacitus geschilderte mimischen Charakter gehabt habe, also wirklich ein Spiel gewesen ist." 321

Von Schroeder's instincts were excellent, as I think we will go on to see. Until the "New Comparative Mythology" of Dumézil, no one made the bold connections between the gods of the various IE peoples that von Schroeder made. But the prevailing wisdom of the students of religion of his day was all about fertility cults and *Jahresgötter* and vegetation-demons, and von Schroeder not surprisingly errs in this way in reducing Wodan and Rudra-Śiva and Dionysos and Mars to the same type of fertility-demon. It is all the less surprising with regard to the sort of thing we have just been looking at, because the actors themselves had no idea what sort of cultic actions they were carrying out. As was the case with the Perchtenlauf and other manifestations of the Wild Hunt, with which the sword-dance has obvious affinities, this was felt to be powerful magic which it would be foolish to give up. What it "meant" was, it makes the crops grow. One doesn't give up what works just because of a change in creed.

It would be the next generation of folklorists and comparative religionists who would see that there are two kinds of fertility magic involved in these rites. There is, indeed, the dying and reviving god or dæmon. But there is also *Bewegungszauber*, the life-awakening power of energetic or even violent manifestations of life, exemplified by the youthful warrior at the height of his powers, and even more by the ancestors who are now *immortal* young warriors. It was plain in these brief descriptions of just a few sword-dances that we were back in the milieu of the cultic brotherhoods. The killing and return to life of the young Fool is the death and resurrection of the initiate. The killing and

return to life of Snortison is the death and rebirth of the vegetation-spirit[91]. The "killing and reviving of the Spirit of Fertility was confused with the killing in the rites of initiation; that is why the Fool scenes in the Sword-dances might easily be assumed to be a Spring custom"[92].

Complicating matters further is the confusion of Snortison and Snapdragon with the real Dragon--Vṛtra, Azi Dahaka, Fafnir--of the great Dragon-Slayer myth, leading von Schroeder to overemphasize the purely fertility aspects of Indra. But his observations were brilliant and his basic instincts sound.

5.5.4.3 Mars and the Salii.

Despite the legend of the shield from heaven and the founding of the Salii by Numa, there were colleges of war-dancers with *ancilia* all over Italy from earliest times, associated with gods other than Mars[93]. Inscriptional evidence indicates that admission to the college was at an early age, very likely at the time of assuming the toga virilis[94]. Wissowa states that they were attired in the "Ausrüstung des römischen Hopliten

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91. Whereas in the Thracian dance of the Anabasis the "dead" dancer is carried off-stage "dead;" resurrection is not a part of this play; it has nothing to do with either initiation or fertility.

92. Wolfram, Sword Dances 41.

93. Though doubtless the same kind of god, and very likely absorbed into Mars at a later date. "The existence of the salii on the Palatine and on the Quirinal as well indicates a parallel development of this body of twelve priests in two communities which worshipped two gods akin in nature." Elizabeth Evans, *The Cults of the Sabine Territory* (New York: The American Academy in Rome, 1939) 50. 94.Ib. 50, N4.

ältester Zeit," plus the lance and shield of Mars[95], but in fact they show up in pictures wearing very different modes of attire, from the distinctly priestly to the *trabea*, a light riding outfit, and the shields themselves vary;[96] in at least one relief, at Apagni, they are the ancient sort: a skin stretched over an oval frame, and the "lances" look like drumsticks. Jane Harrison thinks this is what Dionysius of Halicarnassos referred to as "a spear or a staff or something of that sort," and a Thracian shield "'In my opinion,' he says, 'the Salii are what in the Greek language are called Kouretes. We (i.e. the Greeks) give them their name from their age, from the word κοῦροι, the Romans from their strenuous movements, for jumping and leaping is called by the Romans *salire*.' Denys exactly hits the mark: the term *Kouretes* expresses the essential fact common to Salii, Korybantes, etc., that all are youths; the various special names, the meanings of some of which are lost, emphasize particular functions."[97]

An earlier version is described by Raymond Bloch in his *Origins of Rome*.

> [B]y chance an exceptional piece of archaeological evidence has survived which represents a scene from the armed dance as it was performed at the beginning of the eighth century, on the border between Latium and Etruria. This is a bronze biconical urn....On its shoulders and lid there is depicted a

95. Georg Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (München: Beck, 1912) 556.

96. Andreas Alföldi, *Der frührömische Reiteradel und seine Ehrenabzeichen* (Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1952) 39.

97. Jane Harrison, *Themis* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1962) 194f, & fig.49.

> curious scene comprising a group of several figurines executed in a primitive and awkward style. On two concentric circles are naked warriors wearing only a flat headdress and performing a sort of dance in which they gesticulate and flourish lances and small round shields. Some of them carry shields in both hands. They are grouped round a four-footed animal, possibly a bear, which is attached to the centre of the lid. Among the armed dancers is a character who is pushing forward a cow which another character appears to be about to sacrifice. The minute size of the figurines and the awkwardness of the still undeveloped technique prevent a detailed analysis of the complex scene shown. It is clear, however, that it is meant to depict a magical dance. Judging from the circles of dancers, the dance and the noisy clashing of weapons round the chained animal, this performance was probably meant to ensure luck in the chase and also to protect men and flocks against wild beasts[98].

The Roman Salii opened the war season on the first of March, when the ancilia were taken out (*ancilia movere*), and were active until the rites of October which closed the season, at which time the ancilia were returned to the *sacrarium (ancilia condere)*. They followed a set route through the city, stopping at certain places to perform their dance. This had three elements: the steps, the song, and the clash of lance on shield. The steps--*tripudium* and *saltatio*--were a three-step and a leap. They had a Master--*magister*,--a lead dancer--*praesul*,[99]--and a singer--

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98. New York: Praeger, 1960. (No translater named) 138 & Pl.58.

99. Can further evidence for a dancing Wodan be drawn from the fact that Jordanes calls the Gothic "Mars" (=Wodan) *praesul? (bellorum praesulem) Getica* V,40.41, QB 90.

vates. They chose these leaders from their midst at need; they were not permanent offices[100]. The song was so ancient that they themselves were no longer sure what the words meant[101].

According to descriptions of the dance, it was not the mock battle type of the *Germania*, but rather a line-dance (or labyrinth-dance.) Yet it was unquestionably connected with war, and Bloch concludes that it was "a sort of mime of war, intended by means of imitative magic to ensure the success of Rome and the downfall of her enemies..." But under the influence of Frazer et. al. he suggests that these are not human enemies, "but the beings most feared by primitive men--the evil spirits who were always on the watch, a constant danger menacing the tribe. The armed dance was to protect the tribe, its prosperity, the fertility of its flocks and crops." He ultimately leaves it open as to whether the dance is a war-rite or an agrarian rite[102].

We have seen enough by now to know that it is not a matter of either/or, but of both/and. Enemies are enemies, whether seen or unseen. But the sodalities we have met so far which guard against enemies seen and unseen and further the prosperity of the tribe are cultic brotherhoods which are in union with, and represent, the immortal ancestors; it is because--ritually, sacrally--they *are* the Ancestors, that they are able to protect the tribe from all enemies and bring great blessings to home and flock and field. Can this be true of the Salii? We will need to take a

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100. Wissowa 495.

101. Bloch, *Origins* 118. 102. Ib.139f.

closer look at the god to whom they are consecrated.

Mars is known as the Roman war god. But the bean is sacred to Mars, and the bean belongs to the death-cult[103]. Even more telling is Mars' connection with the Lares in the cult of the Fratres Arvales. The ancients themselves identified the Lares with the *manes*, the ancestors[104]. The Lar (as *Lar familiaris*) is honored at the family hearth along with Vesta and the Penates, but his principle place of worship is at boundaries and cross-roads (*Lar compitalis* and *L. vialis*). We saw something of the Compitalia, the feast of Lar Compitalis, above, in the section on masks; the Compitalia is a feast for *familia*, the household slaves, who have the same privileges at this feast as at the Saturnalia. The masks of the Compitalia are the oscilla, the little dolls made of wool which are hung up at the cross-roads. The Lar himself is portrayed as a dancing youth with curly hair, drinking-horn in hand. "Diese einem griechischen bakchischen Typus entlehnte Darstellung der Compitallaren war schon zu des Naevius Zeiten üblich gewesen und sollte die Laren offenbar als die Vortänzer bei der ausgelassenen Fröhlichkeit der Compitalienfeier

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103. "Ja, die Bohne hat diese Bedeutung schon in der arischen Urzeit gehabt." v.Schroeder, *Mysterium* 146.

104. "und zwar Seelen guter Menschen, zum Unterschiede von den Larven und Lemuren, den unruhigen, spukhaften Geistern und Gespenstern der Bösen, Unseligen." ibid. Wissowa considers this equation, Lares-Manes, made by Varro, among others, "wertlos" 174. Yet this distinction is made elsewhere: the Maruts, for example, are clearly distinguished from the other rudras, the spooks and goblins; the *fravašis* too, in Iran, are envisioned as a Männerbund of helpful ancestors.

wiedergeben."[105] At other times the Lar compitalis guards the fields; every field has its Lar. The *Lar militaris*, the protecting spirit of the battle-field, is portrayed as a spear-carrying youth in the manner of the Dioskouroi, but clad in a dog-skin and accompanied by a dog[106].

In short, the Lares were pictured in all the ways that men pictured the hosts of the friendly dead, the protecting spirits of the ancestors. An earlier Lar militaris might have looked much like the early Salii on Bloch's urn. I think we can follow von Schroeder when he states, "die Salier sind im Grunde--so dürfen wir glauben--das irdische, von Priestern dargestellte Abbild einer Schar von kriegerisch gerüsteten Laren....Und wenn man mit Recht Mars selbst einen Salier genannt hat, so darf man ihn wohl mit noch größerem Rechte einen **zum großen Gott emporgewachsenen Lar militaris nennen, den einstigen alten Führer der kriegerisch gerüsteten Seelen, wie Odin Führer der Einheriar ist.**"[107]

Of course the Salii are not the only closed group of young men associated with Mars, and we will have occasion for a further look at this god in another context, for he has other affinities with Odin, most importantly the wolf. Certain it is that he was more than a war-god, and much more than a *Jahresgott*, as Harrison would have him. "Mars was the 'high god' of Italic peoples and his functions covered the whole range of their life that needed protection."[108]

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105. Wissowa 172.

106. Ib.171.

107. *Mysterium* 147f., emphasis mine.

108. Evans 50.

5.5.4.4. Κούρητες, Κουρῆτες, and Κορύβαντες.

We saw that Dionysius of Halicarnassos equated the Salii with the Kouretes, the connection being that both were groups of youthful, vigorously leaping weapons-dancers. P. Nigidius Figulus identified them with the Lares, as did Hesychios: "Λάρεις. λάραβες. τους Κυρίτας (=Curetas) 'Ρωμαῖοι οὕτως."[109] We know the Kouretes as the youthful spirits who leapt and danced around the new-born Zeus, beating their swords on their bronze shields, making a holy racket to drown his infant cries. Strabo (Geog.X,3) gives numerous possibilities for the origin of their name and suggests that there may have been more than one set, for there are Kouretes who were autochthons of Aetolia (X,3,1) and others who are armed dancers, among whom are the Cretan defenders and by some accounts rearers of the little Zeus. (X,3,11). This latter sort is by some equated, or is it confused?, with Satyrs, Telchines, Idaean Dactyls, and other ecstatic, mountain-roaming types, but especially with the Korybantes who performed the same service for the baby Dionysos. But,

> It is reasonable to suppose, also, that the war-dance was first introduced by persons who were trained in this particular way in the matter of hair and dress, these being called Curetes, and that this dance afforded a pretext to those who were more warlike than the rest and spent their life under arms, so that they too came to be called by the same name, 'Curetes' [Κουρῆτας] -- I mean the Curetes in Euboea, Aetolia, and Acharnania. And indeed Homer applied this name to young soldiers...'the young men of the Achaians brought the gifts [δῶρα φέρον κούρητες Ἀχαιοί]....The

109. Von Schroeder, *Mysterium* 129 N3.

> war-dance was a soldiers' dance; and this is plainly indicated both by the 'Pyrrhic dance,' and by 'Pyrrhicus,' who is said to be the founder of this kind of training for young men, as also by the treatises on military affairs. (X,3,8)

There is much that is informative in this chapter. One is the persistent strand of the ecstatic, which causes the Kouretes to be confused or identified with various types of ecstatic demonic beings. Another is the obvious confusion as to whether we are in fact dealing with human or semi-divine beings. Then there is the very sober supposition that there were men who so enjoyed the military life that they "spent their life under arms," by implication became instructors in the war-dance and military training in general, and thus kept the appellation of "young soldier." We have seen these old warriors in Germania, keeping the hairstyle and other signs of adolescence; we believed we saw in the berserks, and can assume for others, that they had a large role in the military training of the next generation.

Last, we find Kouretes turning up as autochthons in several places. Here they seem to be a tribe or nation. Moreover, some poets have called them "earth-born," γηγενεῖς (X,3,19). But keeping in mind that both Nigidius Figulus and Hesychius equated Kouretes with Lares, it is legitimate, I think, to see in these autochthons *ancestors*.

Thus we have in Greece the by now familiar pattern of an ecstatic cultic brotherhood of youthful warriors (and life-long consecrated warriors), to which corresponds a host of the departed, who are now protective spirits and are pictured as both eternally in their youthful prime

and eternally in ecstasy. We are dealing, in fact, with both human and semi-divine beings; and since it is an important task of the humans to represent, make present, the semi-divine beings, Strabo's confusion is perfectly understandable. The mountain-wandering is also a component, as we shall see.

Is there a god to lead these ecstatic spirits, a god who is, to borrow from von Schroeder, ein zum großen Gott emporgewachsener--***κοῦρος***--der einstige alte Führer der kriegerisch gerüsteten Seelen, wie Odin Führer der Einherier ist? Not on Olympos. But on Crete there was once a Zeus very different from the Cloudgatherer.

> ᾽Ιώ
> Μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι,
> Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνους,
> Βέβακες
> δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος.

Io, Greatest Kouros, I hail you, Son of Kronos, ruler of all brightness, you are come, leading [your] Daimones!

> ᾽Α[μιν θόρε, κὲς στα]μνία,
> καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς ποίμνια,
> κὲς λήι]α καρπῶν θόρε,
> κὲς τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους.]
>
> ᾽Ιώ, κτλ.
> Θόρε κὲς] πόληας ἀμῶν,
> κὲς ποντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας,
> θόρε κὲς [νεούς πολ]είτας,
> θόρε κὲς Θέμιν κ[αλάν].

Leap for us, and for [full] jars/ and leap for abundance of wool on the flocks,/ and for harvests of grain, leap,/ too, for

brimming hives!

Io, etc./ Leap, too, for our cities,/ and for sea-tossed ships,/
leap, too, for new citizens,/ leap, too, for noble Themis!

This is the refrain and the final stanzas of the Hymn to Zeus of Palaikastro, as restored by Gilbert Murray[110]. It is exactly what we were looking for! The Kouros god who is the greatest kouros--*der zum großen Gott emporgewachsene kouros!*--who arrives at the head of a host of daimones--dare we say *kriegerisch gerüsteten Seelen*?--I think it is a safe assumption, even though, as Jeanmaire points out, there are no images of battle, nothing to suggest *armed* demons[111]. But this is that *Bewegungs-zauber* that we have seen; the energetic leaping, the "strenuous

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110. Text from Jane Harrison, *Themis*, p.7-8 (with one correction of a breathing, an obvious misprint); Jeanmaire has some words a little different (433f). Trans. mine. Harrison dates the poem to around 300 BC (4). We do not know for what occasion it was written, "but the fact that it was found near a temple of Diktean Zeus in a place remote from Dikte, the significant fact too of the double copy, show clearly that the Hymn is essentially a revival, and that we may expect to find in it fossilised ways of thinking." (6)

111. 435. Neither does it commemorate the birth of Zeus (434). "...il y a grande apparence que les officiants, ou une partie d'entre eux, s'associaient par la danse même aux movements et aux attitudes prêtés à la divinité qui doit se manifester dans le cercle mystique.

C'est à tort certainement qu'on a prétendu tirer argument du vers 10: στάντες ἀείδομεν pour nier qu'il s'agisse véritablement d'une danse. Les diverses strophes correspondent évidemment à diverses évolutions du chœur; au début de l'invocation, les chanteurs, et probablement les danseurs, se forment circulairement autour de l'autel; à ce moment il n'est encore question que d'évoquer la présence du dieu au milieu de ses

movements" which wake and fructify all things, fill jars and hives, bring fine wool to the flock and new life to the politeia.

The Korybantes are also, according to von Schroeder, "first men," who, according to an old poem, grew out of the earth like trees[112]. They are weapons-dancers like the Kouretes, and I think it is safe to assume that they are in every way the same kind of being. Their god still leads a Furious Host, but he has emphasized the fertility aspect of the magic, and his following is female. Yet we know that Dionysos went through many changes over the centuries; there may well have been a time when he, too, was the "greatest Kouros."

We know, in the case of the Korybantes, that in their mysteries and processions, their dances were performed by priests. Von Schroeder says we do not have direct evidence of the same thing for the Kouretes, but it

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propoloi; plus loin cette présence divine s'est manifestée; le rythme s'animait; le dieu est censé bondir et chacun de ces bonds assure une bénédiction. Il serait inconcevable que sous l'influence démoniaque que dégagent et le chant et la danse, les participants n'aient pas également exécuté des bonds dont l'ardeur répondait à l'intensité de l'influence magique qu'on pensait mettre en œuvre. C'est une loi bien connue de ces complexes magico-orchestriques ou des complexes rituels analogues (celui du 'balancement' par exemple) que l'efficace en soit en proportion de l'energie physique dépensée et qui, sous l'action des éléments psychologiques ou extatiques, s'exalte au paroxysme. Plus haut sautaient les jeunes hommes, plus hautes étaient les moissons, plus ardentes les bêtes à la reproduction, plus flères les villes et les nefs, plus musclées les générations nouvelles." These dances were as much trials of endurance as artistic exibitions! 432f.

112. *Mysterium* 129f. He does not identify the poem.

is probable[113]. I think we have reasonably good evidence in a passage from Strabo (X,3,11):

> In Crete, not only these rites, but in particular those sacred to Zeus, were performed along with orgiastic worship and with the kind of ministers who were in the service of Dionysus, I mean the Satyri. These ministers they called "Curetes," young men who executed movements in armour, accompanied by dancing, as they set forth the mythical story of the birth of Zeus.

As we said above, there is some confusion in Strabo's report between human and daemonic beings[114], but what he is describing here suggests to me a human priesthood.

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113. Ib.131. Prof. Kevin Clinton very kindly let me see a forthcoming *HOROS* article, "Corybantism: the Nature, Role and Origins of an Ecstatic Cult in the Greek Polis," by Yulia Ustinova of Ben-Gurion University, which concludes with the connection, etymological and probably also ritual, between Κορύβας, -αντος, and the *karapan* priests of the Avesta. Though the exact functions of this priesthood are not known, S.P.Tolstov connected them with the cultic warrior brotherhoods, the Männerbünde, of ancient Iran, and it can be surmised from Zoroaster's hostility towards them, that they were "vehemently opposed to the teaching of Zoroaster and dedicated to maintaining the ancient traditions." (23) Central to the rites of these brotherhoods, which we will be looking at closely in the next section, were cattle sacrifice and the use of *haoma* (=soma), to both of which Zoroaster was bitterly opposed, s. Rudolph 293-295; Widengren *Religionen* 66f.

114. This confusion is all the more forgivable if what Ms Ustinova said of the Korybantes is true also of the Kouretes: "the title could be applied to mortal devotees of the cult alongside the demons themselves." (6)

5.5.4.5. The Maruts.

The Maruts of the Rigveda are familiar as a fresh and feisty troop of armed youths, singers, dancers, and pipers, companions of Indra. But Rudra is their father, and they are "nichts anderes als die in Wind und Sturm dahinjagende Seelenschaar gewesen, die wilde Jagd oder das wütende Heer in indischer Prägung....In ihrem spezifisch kriegerischen Charakter, als kampfgerüstete und auch wirklich kämpfende Männer, entsprachen sie den in Wodan-Odins Geleit ziehenden altnordischen Einheriern..."[115]. The poets of the Rigveda, who disliked the ghostly dark side of their gods, emphasized the Indra side of the Maruts, turning them into sparkling weather-spirits, just as these poets pushed the Maruts' natural father, Rudra, as much as possible into the background. Yet Hillebrandt pointed out that the Maruts behave like other "halbgöttlich gesteigerten Manen" such as the Angirases, and the ritualbooks show plainly that the worship they receive in cult is like that of the manes, or Rudra, or the demons, so that, for example, one brings their offerings outside, with averted face, and they receive special honor at the Cāturmāsya, the four-month-festivals which mark the division of the Indian year; of special note is the autumn Cāturmāsya, a great feast of the dead, "a sort of All-Souls'-Feast," when Rudra Tryambaka receives a sacrifice at the crossroads, "the favorite place of ghosts and departed souls."[116] Rudra is Wodan's closest analog. But Rudra is a very

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115. *Mysterium* 121f.

116. *Mysterium* 123f. Think of the *lar compitalis*, and Hermes at the boundaries of space and time, 3.7.1 above.

ancient conception, whereas Odin, who is the only form under which we really know Wodan, is the product of what was already a quite sophisticated society, and furthermore we know him from poetry and have only hints of cult. But when we see the dangerous side of Odin, the treacherous or the capricious side, or when we see Odin/Wodan leading his Furious Host through the sky at mid-winter, then, I submit, we are seeing something very close to Rudra. Rudra, of course, evolves into Śiva, the Auspicious One, the Destroyer, but Rudra at base is the leader of the Spirit-host. He is *ganapati*, Lord of Troops, *bhūtapati* Lord of Beings, or even Lord of Goblins[117]. Rudra is the Howler; his spirit-troops rush howling and shrieking through the night. Of all the gods we have been looking at, he is the one who most clearly appears as the leader of a host who has become a great god. He is a rudra writ large.

"Die rudra's als Gruppe bilden eine wilde zornwütige 'Schar', unheimlich umziehend und brüllend zu unheimlich dunklen Zeiten, wie bei dunkler Nacht, zur Zeit der Wintersonnenwende, in nächtlichem Sturm. Sie werden so ein 'wildes Heer', das umgeht und umzieht und einherfährt... Im Westen sind sie die Schar der wod, der 'Wütigen', mit ihrem Haupte, dem Wodan."[118]

Scholars differ as to whether the Maruts *are* the rudras.

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117. Ernst Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala: A-B Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1922) 215 N2, quoting Weber; the point is that the "beings" which Rudra rules and leads are spooky beings.

118. Rudolf Otto, *Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier*. (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1932) 39.

Heesterman, for one, says they are not identical and gives good reasons[119]. Rudolf Otto insists they are. It is true that as Rudra's sons they are called rudras. But Rudra has several different troops in his train, representing every conception of the Spirit-host, including a legion of female demons like those with Hekate. The Maruts seem to be one sort of rudra. All of these hosts, here and wherever we find them, are conceived as in a state of *wōd*. The martial sort are certainly extremely old[120].

Of all the Vedic gods, those best attested as dancers are Indra and the Maruts. The Maruts' dance must have been a weapons-dance, since they always appear as an armed troop. Von Schroeder does not mention a priesthood which represented the Maruts at feasts and processions, making their dances visible to the people, a priesthood, in other words, to correspond to the Salii and the (human) Korybantes, but I should like to put forth a candidate: those warrior-brahmins we mentioned above, the Vrātyas.

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119. J.C.Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1985) 34.

120. Rudra himself can have a military look. "He carries various weapons...: the thunderbolt, a club, bow and arrows, and an unspecified 'sharp weapon' (VII.29.5; X.125.6). He possesses all the martial virtues that one normally associates with military deities. He is said to be vigorous (I.33.4,8), fierce (II.33.9), youthful (II.33.11), impetuous (II.33.14), swift (V.52.16) and a mighty bull (II.33.6). In numerous hymns he appears as the awesome (*ugra*) form of Agni, blazing in the sky like a thousand suns." J.Bruce Long, "Śiva and Dionysos--Visions of Terror and Bliss," *Numen* 18 (1971) 192.

The vrātyas are an oath brotherhood; their name is derived from *vrāta*, troop, brotherhood, which is itself from *vrata*, oath. Vrāta is not used of just any troop; it is always used in a cultic or religious context, for example of Indra's following, or the oath-brothers of Varuna[121]; it is used in RV VI,75,9, a hymn about war and weaponry, of the "fathers": "Sie sind also (wohl nach ihrem einstigen Erdenleben [wie die Krieger in Walhall]) gedacht als eine fröhliche Tafelrunde bildend, voll tiefer Weisheit, kraftbegabt und in Genossenschaft kämpfend."[122]

Rudra is the Vrātyas' god and leader. We will be going into Rudra and the Vrātyas in depth in a later chapter, so I will be as succint as possible here. In the account of Megasthenes, who was ambassador to an Indian court at the turn of the 2nd-3rd centuries BC, there is a description of Śivaite "Bacchantes," who carry a spear in their processions and dances. Hauer identifies these with the Vrātyas[123]. A

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121. Hauer 179-186.

122. Hauer 183; RV VI,75. "This is a benediction that the royal chaplain would recite over the arms of the king before a military expedition or to bless the warriors protecting the consecrated stallion in the horse sacrifice." O'Flaherty RV 236. Vs.9 reads "The fathers [*Angirases*] have assembled around the sweet one, giving power, a refuge in time of need, powerful and deep. With wondrous armies and strength of arrows, unfading and with equal manly powers, they loom immense as they storm the massed armies." 237. "The fathers are both prototypes of warriors (especially in their role in assisting Indra to set the cows free from the cave) and sources of power for their warrior descendants;" "the sweet one" is Soma. 239.

123. Hauer 131; 240.

commentator[124] states concerning feasts like the Mahāvrata (above 2.5) that at such festivities the presence of experienced singers, dancers, and weapons-bearers, who had received their training in the Vrātya-brotherhood from special masters, was essential[125]. T.M.Br.XXIV says that the *daivā vrātyā* were the original proprietors of these rites, that is, the divinized ancestors of the vrātyas had founded them[126].

The vrātyas are associated with the Maruts in traditions concerning these daivā vrātyas. When the gods went up to heaven and the daivā vrātyas were left behind, it was the Maruts who brought them the *stomas* (hymns) and the secret verses which were the path to the heavens[127]. One divinized vrātya leader was Dyutāna Māruta. According to T.M.Br. XVII,1,7, he was a *Gṛhapati* (leader) of the daiva vrātyas and seer of a *sāman* (song) (*dyautāna*). His name indicates that he was a relation or descendent of the Maruts. Tradition says he is the Ṛṣi (seer) of RV VIII.96, a hymn in praise of Indra as highest god[128].

None of this can be presented as proof that the (earthly) vrātyas were priestly portrayers of the Maruts, but I find it at least suggestive in light of the other human and divine weapons-dancers we have been looking at. It seems that there was the same sort of confusion between human and divine being that we saw with the Kouretes[129].

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124. Comm. to Katy.Sr.S. XXII, 4,3.

125. Hauer 240. 126. Hauer 246. 127. Hauer 298.

128. The vrātyas possess secret wisdom concerning Indra, who in the passages quoted in Hauer 293-295 is a greater and more all-encompassing god than he is even in the Rg Veda.

5.5.4.6. Some conclusions.

For several of the IE daughter peoples we have evidence of ecstatic armed dancers. The origin of these weapons-dances was certainly the training-in-arms of the youthful warrior-band. Since these were cultic warriors, everything they did was religious. Therefore it is not surprising to find mythical beings who are youthful sword-dancers κατ' ἐξοχήν. For several of the peoples we have evidence both of mythical sword-dancers and the human dancers who represented them in cultic festivities. Here is what we have seen, in schematic form. Those analogs which are surmised but not actually attested as such are in square brackets. Dancing gods are in parentheses.

	Mythical beings	Men
Greece	Kouretes (Diktaean Zeus)	[Kouretes]
Phrygia	Korybantes (Dionysos[130])	Korybantes
Italy	Lares (Mars[131])	Salii
India	Maruts (Rudra-Śiva; Indra)	[Vratyas]
Germania	(Odin)	sword-dancers

129. We know that the gṛhapati (leader) of the vrātyas "was" Rudra during razzias and sacrifices; how he became Rudra is the subject of Chapt.12. Likewise the αἰσυμνήτης of the "singing society" described by S.Luria ("Ein milesischer Männerbund im Lichte ethnologischer Parallelen," *Philologus* 83 [1927] 113-136) "was" Apollo (126); Luria rightly compared his μόλπαι to the Salii (130). Apollo, too, was a MB god and associated with armed kouretes who danced at his birth in Ortygia as at Zeus' birth on Crete. The Salii danced (yearly) at Mars' birth, s. H.S.Versnel, "Apollo & Mars One Hundred Years after Roscher," *Visible Religion* 4 (1986) 138, 153 N27, 28.

In some cases, it looks as if the god who leads the mythical troop has risen from its midst as leader, waxed, and, as the paragon of this sort of being, become a great god.[132]

5.6. *Veratýr.*

We have mentioned that there was a host of female demons, a female spirit-army, in the following of Rudra. In Greece Hekate-Artemis led a wild hunt of female spirits, and we have evidence of the same thing in Germania in Perchta and her Perchten and Holda and her throng. I think it is safe to assume that one of the several types of "Seelenheer" imagined by the Indo-Europeans was a troop of female spirits.

In Sparta the girls received a rigorous athletic training; at Brauron and other shrines to Artemis, young girls served the goddess in preparation for marriage[133]; the girls of Lesbos had their own period of

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130. Not attested as a weapons-dancer. (But the thyrsos is his weapon!)

131. In the *carmen Arvale* Mars is asked to leap upon the threshold, i.e. the boundary of the *ager Romanus*: *satur fu, fere Mars, limen sali, sta berber*; "Be thou sated, wild Mars, leap upon the boundary mark and stand there." Norden's translation in L.R.Palmer, *The Latin Language* (Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 1989) 63; text p.346. This is the same magical leaping that was demanded of the Greatest Kouros; I think we can envision this leap in the context of a dance as well.

132. This is actually most clear iconographically in the case of Dionysos, who in the earliest depictions looks like one of his Silenes. His evolution is traced in Wrede 77-80.

133. Michael Walbank, "Artemis Bear-Leader," *Classical Quarterly* 31

formation in groups[134]; and in other Greek cities we know from the often very complex roles girls had to perform on certain feast-days that they must have undergone training paralleling that of the boys to some extent; furthermore it is usual in primitive societies which have extensive training in closed groups for the boys in preparation for puberty rites to have a similar training for the girls, usually much shorter. But we have no evidence anywhere that "Sisterhoods" represented the female spirits in anything equivalent to the Furious Host or Wild Hunt, or in ecstatic dances. When the Perchten and similar demons are brought to earth, they are always portrayed by young mens' societies. The Maenads of Dionysos were certainly the earthly representatives of this sort of demon, but they were not members of Sodalities.

It is difficult to know what to make of the *Pairakas* who are mentioned in several Yasts in the company of the two-footed Mairyas and four-footed Varkas as well as other unsavory characters of the Iranian Männerbünde. Pairaka is witch. In other Yasts there is mention of someone whom Widengren and Wikander call "die mairische Frau."[135] Przyluski took these to be proof of the existence of societies of female werewolves. "Nous avons donc affaire à une organisation qui ne comprend pas seulement des hommes mais des loups-garous des deux

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(1981) 276-281; for Bears at Brauron and other examples of puberty rites for Greek girls, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter*. Trans. by Andrew Szegedy-Maszak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1986) 145-148.

134. Patzer 102.

135. Widengren *HGG* 315, 324, 337.

sexes."[136] Wikander thought rather that "die mairische Frau," at least, was a woman living in a free-love relationship with the Männerbündler, an explanation accepted by Widengren.[137] Now that we know more about the vrātyas this seems indeed the likely explanation, for the vrātyas had in their midst, at least at times, female camp-followers. Cross-culturally we find that while a period of strict separation from women is a part of the training of every *Jungmannschaft*, there are also periods of extreme sexual license.

It seems clear that the sodalities which will occupy us in this study were closed *male* societies--they are military cultic *brother*hoods. If there was any sort of equivalent institution for young women it has disappeared without a trace. This fits in very well with what we know generally of cults of the dead. Nearly always it is the male ancestors alone who are recipients of the cult[138].

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136. Jean Przyluski, "Les confréries de loups-garous dans les sociétés indo-européennes," *RHR* 121 (1940) 141. Daniel Gershenson still believes in female werewolves; s. *Apollo the Wolf-god* (JIES Monograph #8, 1991) 121.

137. *Hochgottglaube* 337.

138. There are many female protective spirits in the sagas. They appear authentic, and some, at least, were ancestresses of the men they guarded. A strong (living) woman seems to have been considered an asset in early Scandinavia; there is no reason to think such a woman would not continue to be helpful after her death. But there is no evidence of an equivalent cult, or of women's sodalities, and so this topic is outside the scope of our study.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence of **goddesses** leading Männerbünde. Diana and Juno, before they became the special

When Przyluski wrote his 1940 *RHR* article "Les Confréries de loups-garous," research into the Männerbünde was still young. Przyluski was familiar with all of it except *Couroi et Courètes*, which had been published the previous year. Had he known this work, he would in all likelihood have realised that the cannibalistic werewolf societies were Indo-European. Apart from his female werewolves and his pre-IE substrate, his article is still useful as a survey of these bands and the practices connected with them. Invariably he found the connection werewolf society--intoxicating drink--ecstatic rites. They were religious societies whose rites always involved sacrifice, and the evidence is clear that at an early stage human sacrifice was involved and that becoming a werewolf involved the eating of human flesh. Przyluski posited that in the beginning, the drink was an essential part of the communion feast but was simply the beverage. Ecstasy was reached through the emotional frenzy generated by the terrible rites themselves. Later animal victims

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patronesses of women, were "Anführerinnen der Jungmannschaften; sicher war dies der Fall bei der [Juno] *Caprotina*. In Rom hat man die...Terrakotta-Antefixe gefunden, die den Kopf der Juno mit Ziegenrachen darstellen, was ursprünglich die Tracht von Bockskriegern war." Juno was associated with the two teams of *Luperci*. Artemis Orthia was likewise connected to two teams. Hera must have been a similar figure. Alföldi, *Struktur* 93-97. An ancient figure is the Mistress of Animals (πότνια θηρῶν). "Jede ist die 'große Göttin', die einer Männergesellschaft vorsteht...sie ist die Herrin des Opfers, auch Hera, auch Demeter. Am engsten ist Artemis mit dem alten Jägerwesen verbunden..." Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) 93f. Burkert warns against conjuring visions of matriarchy; furthermore, these goddesses always have the character of the wild, the dangerous; "sie sind es, die töten, sie verlangen und rechtfertigen das Opfer."

were substituted for human, and the inebriating drink gained in importance. Finally the drink itself became the divine ambrosia which allowed men to escape death and become as gods. As a part of this process "the wolf-god and his faithful lost their animal nature and kept only the human form." If this last statement is amended to read, "the wolf-god and his faithful lost their animal **form**," and we keep in mind that the evolution began at different times and proceeded at very different rates among the various peoples, Przyluski's analysis seems accurate. He saw the cannibalistic werewolf rites absorbed into the IE Männerbünde and transformed and finally replaced within that context; later research has made it clear that those rites were part of the context from the beginning.

We have said little about the wolf so far, but he, and his brother the dog, will loom large in the rest of this study. He is inseparable from Odin; Odin is the god who "gluts his wolves at his table," his table being the battlefield, the field of slaughter. And the wolf-warriors are Odin's *her*, part of the Männerbund since its *horrenda primordia*.

Odin is *Veratýr* (Falk 161), god of men[139]: the men, living and

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139. **Not** "menneskenes gud," (Hj. Falk), "Týr der Menschen," Simek! Odin is not concerned with humankind, and *ver* is nowhere "human being." De Vries, correctly, "Gott der Männer," WB 654, pointing to *verr* (<urn. **wiraR*), Nisl. *ver* (man, husband), Got. *wair*, Lat. *vir*.

Ivančik writes that among the Ossetes, St.George the Dragon-killer, "whose connections with wolves are well-known,...quite plainly kept the appearance of the patron of men's societies and warriors. Thus it is most significant that his very name was tabu for Ossete women, who called him *lægty dzwar*--'the god (saint) of the men.'" (318)

dead, of the confréries de loups-garous. He is god of the Männerbund, the *feralis exercitus*, the standard features of which are the cult of the dead, animal transformations, and orgiastic rites.

Part II. The Indo-European Männerbund.

Chapter 6. **teutā* and **koryos.*

6.1. *Equites* and *pedites.*

In *Germania* 6 Tacitus contrasts mounted warriors with foot soldiers, *equites* with *pedites*. He is unimpressed with the horses and horsemanship of the Germans and says their advantage lies with the swift youths who fight afoot in the front lines. His blanket criticism of German cavalry is probably undeserved[1]; for our purposes, what is interesting is the contrast. The *pedites* are the young bachelor-bands we have been discussing, which we have called the **koryos*, following Kim McCone; in OHG terms they are the *heri* of our chapter 2.

In opposition to the **koryos* is the **teutā*[2], "Stamm," the tribe, the totality of the people. And who are "all the people?" Why, the adult males, of course! In other words, the **teutā* are also warriors, adult warriors (to include the retirees.) Over the **teutā* was the **reg-* (<**h₃reg-*), its ruler ("Lenker")[3]. **Regs*, the IE "king" word, is attested only in Lat. (*rex*), Indic (*rāj(an)-*), and Celtic (OIr. *rí [rīg-]*)[4]; in PGmc.,

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1. Much 146.

2. Really **-eh₂*, but I am not going to deal with laryngeals unless I have to.

3. McCone, Hund 116.

4. And Iranian, Khotanese Saka *rrāysan*. For **reg-*, its cognates and some of its replacements, see Werner Winter, "Some Widespread Indo-European Titles." George Cardona, et.al., eds., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (Philadelphia: U of Pa., 1970), 49-54.

where the IE king word was lost, the title of the leader of the **þeudo* was derived by means of the *-no-* suffix, giving **þeudanaz*[5]. Thus we have the **þeudō* under its **þeudanaz* exactly paralleling the **haryaz* under its **haryanaz*.

About the **teutā* we can say further that it was made up of men who possessed a certain amount of property and were married. Taking the Irish *túath* as a model, we find that a man could not marry before age twenty even if he had already come into an inheritance, but that if, at twenty, he was still without property, he could not marry and he could not make the rite of passage into the *túath*[6]; he remained a "youth." There must have been a time when property was held in common and a pure age-group system prevailed, that is, age alone--or rather coming of age and having successfully completed the training period, including such tests as might be required--determined when a boy became a man. We

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5. Etym., McCone, Hund 116, vs V.V.Ivanov, "L'organisation sociale des tribus Indo-européennes d'après les données linguistiques," *CHM* 5 (1960) 796. For "people" cf λαός, the "people under arms," Richard Sharpe, "Hiberno-Latin *Laicus*, Irish *Láech* and the Devil's Men," *Eriu* 30 (1979) 88; "la collectivité des guerriers réunis en assemblée," "l'ensemble des combattants," etc., Jeanmaire, Couroi 54, with its λαϝαγέτας, Myc., see Ivanov 796; Versnel 151 (populus). Later **þeudanaz* was replaced by **kuningaz*, the leader of the clan, **kunja-*; s. Jan de Vries, "Das Königtum bei den Germanen," *Saeculum* 7 (1956) 291ff.

6. McCone, "Werewolves, Cyclopes, Díberga, and Fíanna: Juvenile Delinquency in Early Ireland," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (1986) 10f; Hund 107.

never see this among the Indo-Europeans. At an early stage, a second son could hope to win land and herds by raiding and eventually move up into the set of adult males, but the more settled and organized these societies became, the more difficult it was for the too-late-born to improve their lot. These poor souls will occupy us further on in this chapter.

The youth of the **koryos*, distinguished by his hair-style, is in every way the opposite of the men of the **teutā*. They are adult; he is pre-adult. They are married; he is not. They have property; he has none (in OIr. terms they are *bue*, having cattle; he is *ambue*, not having cattle, and *díthír*, landless). They have families; he has none (he is *écland*, clanless)[7]. They are *equites*; he is *pedes*. They are armed; he is "naked." (Recall the Heruli: none wears any sort of armor, but the boys [*δοῦλοι*] do not even have shields. Polybius described the naked Γαισάται of the Gauls[8]; and there are our Germanic weapons dancers of

7. Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*. Trans. by Miles Dillon (London: Methuen, 1949) 83f.; McCone, Werewolves 11.

8. After telling how disconcerting the noise of horns and trumpets was to the Roman army, he writes, "Not less terrifying was the appearance and rapid movement of the naked warriors in the van, which indicated men in the prime of their strength and beauty: while all the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned with gold necklaces and bracelets." (II, 29) Polybius identified the Gaesatae as an Alpine tribe; *διὰ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος*, out of love of glory and daring they had thrown off their clothes "and fell in front of the army naked, with nothing but their arms," which consisted of a spear and a small shield (II, 28; Shuckburgh 125f.). Like the Harii, the Gaesatae are surely not a tribe; "es besteht kein Zweifel, daß wir es hier mit einem des Krieges wegen

the previous chapter, most of them, like the Finglesham Man, naked except for a belt[9] and the horned helmet.) Finally, they are of the village; he is of the "forest"[10].

When we recall that *ritual* reality is the true reality (3.3), we will realize that these youths are in a truly odd position. The married, propertied men have a place in the social order. The women have a place, because they are part of someone's household, as daughter, wife, or widowed mother. Likewise the little children have a place; they, too, are part of a household. But the youth of the **koryos* is no longer part

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importierten alpinischen gallischen Männerbund zu tun haben." McCone, Hund 106. They were naked or nearly so--lightly clad and armed--for the sake of that swiftness and mobility for which they were famous. Greek and Roman writers always mention this quality. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the youthful band surrounding Romulus was called *Celeres*. Likewise Finn, the Irish paragon of the *koryos-bündler*, was renowned for his speed, Joseph Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw* (Berkeley & L.A.: U of Cal., 1985) 104f, 175f, etc.

9. For the symbolism of the belt see Geo Widengren, "Le symbolisme de la ceinture," *Iranica Antiqua* 8 (1968) esp.140-150, and the first chapter of his *Feudalismus*; also Rudolf W. Fischer, "Vinculo ligatus: Zur Akzessvorschrift des Kultes im Semnonenhain," *Antaios* 5 (1963) 285-301.

10. We could go on and on for the individual peoples. In Crete, for example, we find herds (ἀγέλαι) of adolescents (II.3.5, n.38!) versus brotherhoods (ἑταιρεῖαι) of adults. See Vidal-Naquet 142ff. for contrast between "fledgling" and adult warriors in Greece generally, and 113 for a chart of the oppositions between *kryptos* and *hoplite* in Sparta. The kryptos is not merely a pre-hoplite; he is in every way an anti-hoplite (147).

of anyone's household, and he does not yet have a household of his own. Again taking Ireland as a model, "he breaks all connection with his own clan. The members of his clan must pledge themselves not to claim compensation for his death or for any injury he may suffer, and he is not bound to avenge wrongs done to the clan. He is outside the system of collective responsibility which is the juridical expression of the unity of the clan....No longer protected by his people, nor by their law, he at once acquires the right to secure justice for himself. 'Reprisals' are an appanage of the *féinid* just as hostages are an appanage of the king, says one of the texts.[11]" He is, in short, in *marge*.

6.2. Village and Forest.

McCone quotes the conclusion of an Irish charm preserved in a ninth-century MS.: "if this be destined for me, may it be grain and milk yield that I see. If it be not destined for me let it be wolves (*coin altaí*) and deer and traversing of mountains and young men of a *fían*-band (*oaic féne*) that I see," and calls it "a clear contrast between agricultural prosperity within society and life in the world beyond..."[12]. This contrast can be code-worded "village/ forest." In Vedic and Brahmanic India, village and forest "divide up the totality of the habitable world."[13] This

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11. Sjoestedt 83f.

12. McCone, "OIr.*Olc, Luch-* and IE **wl̥k̑os, *lúk̑os* 'wolf'", *Ériu* 36 (1985) 173.

13. Charles Malamoud, "Village et forêt dans l'ideologie de l'Inde

opposition is Indo-European. The village is the domain of the **teutā*; the forest is "the world beyond" of the **koryos*.

To PGmc. **harjaz* < **koryos* (chapter 2) corresponds OIr. *cuire* "Schar," found almost exclusively in early sources. It was replaced by *fían*, pl. *fíana, fíanna, fíannas*; the early attested forms with -nn- point to "**wēd-na* oder desgleichen...Eine solche Form ließe sich mit air. *fíad,* cymr. *gwydd* 'wild, Wild' (<**wedus*), air. *fíadach* 'Jagd, Wild', an. *veiðr*, ae. *wāð* 'Jagd' (<**waidaz*) vergleichen und von einem ursprünglichen **weydh-* bzw. (im Falle der germanischen Formen) **woydh-* herleiten. Semantisch wäre dies eine völlig befriedigende Lösung, da die *fíanna* sich sehr mit der Jagd befaßten, und die Ableitung **wēd-na* scheint erst auf irischem Boden entstanden zu sein."[14]

The *koryos*-bands live in the forest and, like Sigmund and Sinfjötli, sustain themselves by hunting. The forest is "the world beyond" the village. How are we justified in using the term village for the "agricultural prosperity within society?" Let us return to early India. "The [Skt] word *grāma-*, ordinarily translated by 'village,' designates an aggregate of people, a system of institutions, rather than a fixed area: in contrast to Latin *pagus*, which evokes rootedness in a locality, vedic *grāma* is especially...[15] a troop, originally, perhaps, a mobile troop,

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brahmanique," in Malamoud, *Cuire le monde: rite et pensée dans l'Inde ancienne*. (Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 1989) 94.

14. McCone, Hund 111.

15. Here Malamoud has "if we trust its etymology;" he does not furnish an etymology of *grāma*, which, so far as I can tell, is unknown.

which explains why *samgrāma*, literally 'gathering of the *grāma*,' indicated first of all 'army in combat,' then 'battle'"[16]. Rau defines *grāma* as "eine Schar wandernder Viehzüchter" (51)[17]. "Village" in this sense is almost synonymous with **teutā*. Malamoud continues, "the notion of boundary is closely associated with that of village; but it is not the boundary which defines the village, it is the village which gives rise to the notion of boundary."

Vidal-Naquet points to the frequency with which boundaries turn up in the lives of, or the stories about, Greek adolescents. The ephebes swore in their oath to "the boundary stones of the fatherland."[18] The myth which provides the *aition* for the Athenian Apaturia, the festival at which the new ephebes were enrolled, takes place on the boundary between Athens and Boeotia: "an *eschatia*, a mountainous area that is the 'end' of a city's territory, and whose inhabitants are always at loggerheads with their neighbors over the border. Such places existed on

16. Malamoud 95. "Such a *grāma* took all its possessions with it in wagons. When it moved on, 'one yoked up.'" Wilhelm Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957) 51. The first part of Rau's succinct little book is concerned with the Aryan settlement of India. It strikes me as an apt paradigm for the Indo-European migration generally.

17. IE **weyk'*- clan may originally have meant "a group on the move" Angela Della Volpe, "On evidence of ranked status in Indo-European: PIE **wik'-pot-i-*," *Word* 44/$_2$ (1993) 268 n14. At any rate, Lat. *vīcus*, village, etc., originally designated "an aggregate of people" in contrast to *pagus*.

18. Vidal-Naquet 99.

the borders of all Greek states. They were the terrain of hunters and shepherds, frontier zones constantly in dispute. And they were necessary to Greek cities if only for training the young soldiers for war."[19] "Moreover, in the Classical era [the ephebes'] 'military service' was spent primarily in the frontier outposts"[20]. So, village "gives rise to the notion of boundary." What is on the other side of the boundary is the forest. "En face du village, l'*āraṇya*. This word, which we have gotten into the habit of translating by 'forest,' actually designates the other than the village. Here again the etymology throws an authentic light on the meaning which the living usage of the language allots to a word: *āraṇya*, 'forest,' is derived from *arana*, 'strange'... The village is here, the forest there."[21] Woods are only one particular case of "forest." Desert, *irina*, is another[22]. "These two zones, that of the forest and that of the village, are distinguished less by physical features than by the religious and social significance which is attributed to each of them."[23] This religious and social significance, I am convinced, goes back all the way to the βίος νομαδικός of the early Indo-Europeans[24].

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19. Ib.109. Napoli recounts Brelich's hypothesis that neighboring Greek cities which were on friendly terms held battles between their youth at set times and places. The winner took the uninhabited land, and the loser went home to prepare for next time. Antonio Napoli, "I rapporti tra Bruzi e Lucani," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 37 (1966) 82.

20. Vidal-Naquet 99.

21. Malamoud 95. 22. Ib.96. 23. Ib.95; and see Part III.

23. In *Staat und Gesellschaft* we see the *grāma* on the move with its

The significance of the "forest" is that it is the "école de la brousse" (Jeanmaire) where boys learn to be warriors, i.e. men, precisely because the forest is totally other than the village. The Lucani sent their sons, at

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herds of cattle and sheep (51) and its ox-carts. Periods of wandering alternate with sessile periods. The rhythm is set both by the expansion of the population of the *grāma* and by the press of related tribes pouring into the subcontinent behind it (13f). There are constant battles with the indigenous peoples, whose crops are important to the economy of the intruders (15) because pastoral nomads are dependent on agriculture. "Either they must do some planting themselves or they must trade with farming communities." (Ward H. Goodenough, "The Evolution of Pastoralism & Indo-European Origins," in Cardona 1970, 258.) Or they can simply take what they need. The highest political unit is the tribe; the tribes fight with the indigenes and with each other; war is the normal condition of life. "Es scheint ein fortgesetzter, erbarmungsloser Kleinkrieg aller gegen alle geherrscht zu haben...." (Rau 18f) "Zwischen den einzelnen 'Trecks' herrschte dauernder Kriegszustand: wo zwei *grāma* zusammentrafen, lieferten sie sich ein *samgrāma* d.h. Gefecht oder Scharmützel um Vieh und Weideplätze. *grāma* erscheint dann häufig in der engeren Bedeutung Kriegerschar, Heerhaufen." (52)

When the *grāma* stopped to rest, the wagons formed a circle for defense, just like the pioneer wagons heading out to the American West. The wagon-train became a wagon-fort. Later the *grāma* came off its wheels; huts replaced the wagons but retained the circle formation (54). It was only quite late, however, that the tribes became bound to particular pieces of territory. Rau compares the early settlers to the Celtic and Germanic tribes described by Caesar (Helvetii: BG I,5,2-3; Suebi: BG IV, 1,3-8); "obwohl sie alle den Ackerbau kannten, waren einige ihrer Stämme recht wanderlustig und maßen weder der Feldbestellung noch ihren Siedlungen großen Wert bei." (20) They despised agricultural labor (26), as Tacitus said of the Germans. In fact, they seem to have despised everything peaceful and permanent and to have glorified yoking-up and going off on raiding expeditions.

Paradigmatic for this life are the regular summer raids into the east of the Kuru-Pañcālas (TB 1,8,4,1; ŚB 5,5,2,3-5). Such raids, Rau

the beginning of puberty, to live in the forest (*in silvis*), scantily clad, among herdsmen[25], to get used to hardship and scarcity without any of the amenities of the city. Their food was the game they hunted; their drink was milk[26] or spring water. They were thus hardened for the works of war[27]. Napoli emphasises that the boys are snatched away into an *other* "world" (quotes are N's), where they will be transformed into warriors: "the little Lucani boys, in contact with the forest, with the savage nature of the '*silvae*,' with that part of the 'world' which is, par excellence, the 'uninhabited,' in opposition to the 'inhabited' maternal world, no longer

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thinks, initiated the process which culminated in the conquest of that part of the land (15). Elsewhere the raids of the Kuru-Pañcālas are referred to as vrātya-raids. And that takes us back to our bachelor-bands. In attacking the hapless farmers, in the skirmishes with other *grāma (samgrāma)*, they would be the first line of battle. When the *grāma* was on the move, they would be on the outskirts with the herds, just as they had been back in the old homeland, just as they were now when the *grāma* paused to rest. Their place is the "other than the village."

25. Obviously, herdsmen do not live in the forest. We see here how *silvae* is used as the opposite of *urbs*; *silvae* are the "other than the village," the outlying regions, both pasture-land and woods. Alföldi points out that the herdsman of the Romulus myth and its many analogs (part 3 of this chapter) "weiden ihr Vieh nicht auf Wiesen, sondern in der Wildnis;" one of them, the founder of Alba Longa, was named Ἄγριος (Hesiod, Theog.1011ff)--Silvius. "Nicht das Weiden, sondern der Rinderraub" is the focus of these stories (Struktur 115).

26. A sure sign of the βίος νομαδικός! see Brent D. Shaw, "Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk," *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982-3) 5-31.

27. Paraphrased from Justinus, *Trogi Pompei Historiarum Philippicarum Epitoma*, as quoted in Napoli 61.

depended on the mother, but on other beings, hitherto unknown to them, beings as savage as the nature which houses them: the herdsmen."[28] Forest, hunting, cattle-herding (and rustling) and young men go together all over Indo-germania[29].

To return to the *fiana*: Sjoestedt describes them as "companies of hunting warriors, living as semi-nomads under the authority of their own leaders. They are represented as spending the season of hunting and warfare (from *Beltine* to *Samain*) roaming the forests of Ireland in pursuit of game, or as guerillas[30]."

Adult men also hunted, of course. But Vidal-Naquet points to the contrast between the hunting habits of the adults and the juveniles. The prototype of the adult hunt is the hunt of the Calydonian boar, by daylight, with the spear, and often, as in this case, in a group. The youth hunts at night, alone or in small groups, using nets and snares, stealth and deception; like an animal, he sneaks up on his prey. "It is in such terms, perhaps, that one might explain why on the Chigi vase in the Villa Giulia in Rome there is a line of men creeping through the undergrowth, over against the line of horsemen and the line of hoplites."[31]

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28. Napoli 77.

29. Napoli recalls all the cattle-herding heroes of classical myth and legend: Cyrus, Romulus and Remus, Caeculus, Paris, and more; and let us not forget the initiator-god Apollo, see chapter 9.

30. Sjoestedt 82.

31. Vidal-Naquet 118f, picture on 121. Cf. Rau: "Die Methode des Einzeljägers war wenig waidgerecht: er fing die Tiere entweder in

Their manner of warfare, except in the relatively rare instances when they fought as part of a larger army[32], like Polybius' Gaesatae, was likewise characterized by stealth and guile; they were anti-hoplites, guerillas, and they lived and hunted like wolves in the forest.

Fallgruben...oder lockte sie mit Ködern...an, um sie dann aus einem gedeckten Versteck...mit oft vergifteten Pfeilen...zu erlegen. Die Jagd durch Anschleichen erwähnt JB 2, 158:...Wer ein Stück Wild (bloß) hinwärts beschleicht, der bekommt es nicht in seine Gewalt; wer es aber beschleicht, stetig darauf zu und zurückschreitend, der bekommt es in seine Gewalt" 23. It is thus that Goosens wants to explain Apollo's by-name Λοξίας. "Λοξίας comes from λοξός which Hesychius glosses with πλάγιος, ἐπικαμπής. Thus: *sideways* or *winding*....the crab (καρκίνος) is called λοξοβάτης. Rather than *the god of convoluted oracles*, Loxias seems to me to be simply 'the one who does not walk straight.'" Referring to a study by H. Gregoire in the same work he concludes that probably "*the surname Loxias should be explained by the primitive identification of Apollo with an animal with a crooked, or hesitant, or winding gait.*" (Henri Grégoire, R.Goosens & M.Mathieu, *Asklèpios, Apollon Smintheus et Rudra* [Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1949] 138f., G's emphasis.) This would be an animal stalking its prey. Rudra, in RV I,114, is called *vanku* (139); Λοξίας = *vanku* (141). And cf. the *Sattrins* creeping and sneaking (Hinzukriechen, schleichen) to the place of sacrifice, which is in an area "rich in game" (Falk, *Bruderschaft* 34). Apollo, Rudra, and Sattra-sacrificers will occupy us further on; they are all connected with our koryos-bündler who hunts like an animal.

32. "Young men were used to fight only under exceptional circumstances," Vidal-Naquet 123 n7.

Chapter 7. The **koryos*.

7.1. Raubrecht.

Sjoestedt's description of the *féinid* continues: "The depredations that he does, which are in fact necessary to his subsistence, for as an *écland* ('clanless') he is also *díthír* ('landless'), are legal and he is never represented as a brigand."[1] This last statement is questionable. Another word which is sometimes interchanged with *fíana* is *díberga(ig)*, sing. *díberg(ach)*, and this word means precisely "brigand"[2] When Conaire became king of Tara he established peace throughout the land. His foster brothers were put out about this, because they were not allowed to follow "the thieving and murderous vocation of their fathers and grandfathers." In fact they did devote themselves to *díberg*: rallying round them the sons of the nobles of Ireland, they lived like wolves in Connacht. They are called *díberga(ig)* "and now and then also *fíanna*." "Es handelt sich also um einen in erste Linie jugendlichen und aristokratischen...Verband, eine *fían*, deren Mitglieder *díberg* ausüben und *díberga(ig)* bzw. *féindidi* heißen. Ihr kriegerisches und wölfisches Wesen tritt deutlich hervor, indem sie Diebstahl, Raub und Mord...treiben, Angriffe machen...und *oc fáelad* ['bei wölfischer Tätigkeit'] sind."[3]

McCone cautions us to keep in mind that, since the early MSS come from the monasteries, the picture we get of *díberg* from the pre-Norman texts is colored by clerical hostility towards anything seen as

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1. Sjoestedt 84.

2. "Freibeuter," McCone, Hund 105.

3. Ib.105.

irredeemably pagan[4]. *Díbergaig* and *fíanna* seem synonymous, and both are lumped with the "sons of death and perdition" as opposed to the "sons of life and salvation"[5]. The monks were right that the institution was rooted in paganism, and Sjoestedt was right that the raids carried out by the *féinid* were necessary to his subsistence and were legal[6].

Napoli remarks on the "singular right of theft and rapine" granted to the Spartan youth and uses it, appropriately, as the explanation of the "banditry" of the Lucani boys under their Brettian tutors. "This, under the form of ambushes and surprise attacks,...had as its principal purpose the preparation of the youths for the normal activities of adults (warriors)."[7] Caesar wrote of the Germans, "Robberies which are committed outside the boundaries of each state they consider no disgrace; moreover they assert that these are done to train the youth and reduce sloth." (BG VI,23)[8] And Dottin, after lamenting that most of the Irish

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4. McCone, Werewolves 3. This is why díberg does not appear as an activity of Finn, that paragon of the féinid; why most traces of the fían-life of Cu Chulainn ("the hero within the tribe," Sjoestedt) have been erased; and why there is, in fact, very little literature about the fíana before the twelfth century. 5. Ib.5.

6. Although the story of Conaire and his foster-brothers cited above may be a sign that, even in the pagan period, these bands were already becoming a plague.

7. Napoli 81f.

8. In VI, 35f. he tells how readily the surrounding German tribes answered his invitation to a free-for-all with the property of the Celtic Eburones. It is easy to see why these tribes liked to keep wide uninhabited spaces between them (VI, 23). (Again I am reminded of

"Tains" are known by name only, the very word having gone out of fashion, writes, "There was nevertheless in Ireland a time when a good razzia, with its various vicissitudes, would bring as much glory to a hero as killing a man or sacking a castle. Of that stage of civilisation, when the thief who succeeded was more admired than censured, Irish epic offers at least a memory."[9]

Romulus and Remus were cattle-rustlers and bandits during their pastoral years; like the Lucani/ Bretti, the fíana, and similar groups, they lived by plunder[10]. Similar stories are told of Caeculus, founder of

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Rau's little book on early India; from the ŚB 6,7,3,5: "Wer fürwahr nur nach der Gegenseite hin siegreich ist, dessen ersiegtes [Land] besiedeln wahrlich andere. Wer aber nach beiden Seiten siegreich ist, der hat dort [wo er sich befindet] Freizügigkeit." And see Chapt.6, N23 about the constant little wars.)

9. G. Dottin, "Les Razzias épiques," *RC* 40 (1923) 130. Beyond the scope of this study, but tantalizing in terms of those East-West IE connections which make one think one has found something truly PIE, is the "Crech Ríg" or "Regal Prey" (see the article of that name by Pádraig O'Riain, *Eigse* 15 (1973) 24-40), the obligatory cattle raid immediately upon accession which was part of the inauguration ritual of Irish kings. Heesterman sees the same thing preserved in the ritual chariot-drive of the Rājasūya (Conflict 119). The motivation would have been the same: the king must prove himself the heroic leader and also acquire the wealth--herds--needed to be the "gift-giver."

10. As Servius wrote of the Hirpi Sorani, see part 3 of this chapter, "they imitate wolves, that is, they live by plunder." See Dominique Briquel, "Trois études sur Romulus," *Hautes études du monde Gréco-Romain* 10 (1980) 277, 280; and Jan Bremmer, "Romulus," Bremmer & Horsfall, *Roman Myth & Mythography*, Bulletin of the U of London Inst. of Classical Studies, Supplement 52 (1987) 32f. Romulus the king also

Praeneste, and his robber band[11]. Concerning the young Kyros and his companions Strabo wrote, "These are called κάρδακες because they live by theft, for κάρδα means bravery and heroic spirit." (XV, 3,18) "Das ist also ein echter Männerbund mit seinem Leben in der Wildnis und mit seiner besonderen Disziplin, und jene Jugendgeschichte des Kyros ist nichts anderes als die Mythisierung dieses Lebensideals..."[12] The three hundred select riders who formed the retinue of the Slavic god Svantovit on Rügen Island rode out, the god at their head, to pillage the neighborhood; the loot was handed over to the priests[13].

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carried out *latrocinia*, Briquel 329, but then, as we know, the line between latrocinium and bellum was not a very clear one in the early days of any of these people, see II, 1, above. *Latro* originally meant "Krieger im Dienste eines Herrn," Alföldi *Struktur* 110, at a time when a warrior's pay consisted in a share of the loot. "In der Gesellschaft der *latrones* der Frühzeit war der Raub weltanschaulich verankert" (121). Even in the late fourth century, Rome and the neighboring cities, whose economies were still "based on continued looting of neighbors rather than a peaceful exchange of goods with them," were persistently engaged in these little wars; Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 1963) 377f (cf. Rau again!).

11. Bremmer, "Caeculus," in Bremmer & Horsfall, 49, 56.

12. Alföldi, "Königsweihe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden," *SAVk* 47 (1951) 15; cf. Widengren, *Feudalismus* 83f.

13. Sergent 38f., cf. Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung* (München: Trofenik, 1933) 104. Svantovit's horse returns sweaty and dirty from these rides! Sergent 18. The information is from Saxo, who does not state the age of the three hundred knights, but Sergent, noting the many parallels between the cult of Svantovit and that of Apollo at Amyklai, and observing that several

Hauer took issue with earlier scholars who had called the vrātya thieves. This could not be possible, he argued, because there were divinized vrātyas who went to live among the gods, and a wandering vrātya becomes *mahādeva* in AV XV. Hauer was correct in his religious valuation of the vrātyas: they were not merely gypsies, rowdies, and thieves. He was wrong, however, in his approach to what he called "die unvereinbaren Gegensätze" in other scholars' writings. Since there were as yet no studies of the Männerbund, it is not surprising that Hauer failed to recognize the "sakraler Stehlrecht[14]" of the cultic warrior-bands.

From this cult practice Höfler explained the frequent OIc men's names compounded with *-þjófr*, thief, such as *Valþjófr, Eyþjófr, Geirþjófr, Gunnþjófr*. They were popular warrior names and could not have anything to do with ordinary thieves, nor had any attempts to explain them away been successful. Of all these names, *Valþjöfr* is by far the most frequent. The first part is AN *valr*; when we recognize this we see that *Valþjófr* is very close to the Langobardic mask name *Walapautz* (3.4, N32), meaning "dämonengestaltiger Räuber." Thus it is part of the old Gmc. stock. It must have had a nice ring to it, because only if it were a common and honorable name could it have avoided the shameful

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features which on Rügen pertain to the god are associated with the kings at Sparta, equates them with the three hundred *hippeis* who were the elite of the ephebes (but, despite their name, were horseless in the historical period).

14. Höfler's term, Eliade's "right of rapine," which doesn't sound nearly sinister enough; also Raubrecht (Meuli). Its direct linear descendent is the Heischerecht of the maskers of Chapter 3.

overtones which the word "thief" had in everyday speech. Only if it were free of taint could it have opened the way for new formations like *Geirþjófr, Eggþjófr*, etc. *Val-* is itself extremely rare in PNs, so that it has to be handled together with the equally unusual *-þjófr*. Old Norse *Valþjófr*, like Lang. *Walapautz*, indicates a function of the dæmonic cult of the dead. This explains, too, why these names are always those of free warriors, never slaves[15].

Our young warrior, then, lives by theft because he has no property; by these "depredations," and by the harsh conditions under which he lives, he is "hardened for the works of war." His activities are legal in that they are sanctioned by cult. They are preparing him for his eventual initiation into the *teutā* and return to the village. "*Rapto vivere*," writes Briquel, "to live in the manner of wolves, is the beginning of this initiation. The bond with the savage world is indicated not only on the geographic plane--life beyond the limits of the civilized life of the towns--...but also on what we would consider a moral plane: their existence is assured by the law of the jungle."[16]

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15. *KGG* 264-266. Höfler's note: "Ich möchte betonen, daß *val-* hier nicht gerade Kampf-Tote zu bezeichnen braucht. Letztere Bedeutung ist erst spezialisiert (wenn auch wohl schon in früher Zeit) aus allgemeineren: vgl. die ablautenden Wörter ags. *wól* 'Pest', *bewéled* 'vergiftet', as. *wol* 'Verderben', ahd. *wuol* 'Verderben, Niederlage'; ferner lit. *velys* 'tot', *veles* 'die Geister der Verstorbenen', *velukas* 'Gespenst'...Es scheint sich also in *walapautz* wie in *Valþjófr* eine sehr alte Bedeutung gehalten zu haben, was natürlich ihre hohe Altertumlichkeit bezeugte." 266, n354.

16. Briquel 280.

7.2. The *Manes*.

Concerning the bond between the consecrated youth and their dead ancestors Weiser wrote, "Mit der Jünglingsweihe, das sei nochmals betont, ist häufig der Ahnen- und Totenkult eng verbunden und damit auch alle die Zauberhandlungen, die Regen, Sonnenschein und Wachstum fördern sollen. Der nahe Zusammenhang zwischen Totenverehrung und Vegetationsriten ist ja allgemein bekannt."[17] Replace "häufig" with "immer" and we have a statement we can work with; but Weiser's book was the first. A little later, Wikander could put it more forcefully: "die Eingeweihten des Bundes sind unsterblich und eins mit den Geistern der Verstorbenen."[18]

Meuli stated emphatically that masks, wherever in the world they are found, are associated with cults of the dead, and also that masks are always the province of some sort of men's group: religious brotherhoods originally, and later either specially formed societies, which may be new *Geheimbünde* with their own mumbo-jumbo, or existing guilds (see 3.4). By this time, of course, the link with the dead has been broken and it is the fertility-magic which has become all-important; and this is amazingly persistent, as we have seen.

We also have to specify, I believe, that we are dealing with an *Ahnenkult* rather than a general *Totenkult*. If the koryos-bündler is "le guerrier noble," then the dead are the noble dead. But if these men were the "best," or the most powerful, in life, then they will be, when once

17. Weiser 24.

18. Wikander, *AM* 76.

immortal, the most efficacious in every way[19]. Of course the mature men (the teutā) are also part of the community of males which includes the noble dead of the tribe, since they, in their turn, had been initiated into that community, but the novices stand in a special relation to their ancestors because they are themselves ritually, or as Turner puts it, "structurally" dead[20]. These two points--the youths' identification with their dead ancestors (for whom I will use the term *manes*) and their own structurally dead state--cannot be stressed too vigorously; they will occupy us continually as we proceed.

7.3. Animal transformations.

Eliade wrote that "the essential part of the military initiation consisted in ritually transforming the young warrior into some species of predatory wild animal."[21] This is not only a question of assimilating the animal's fearsomeness and fearlessness, its strength and endurance; it is

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19. In other words, while the common man certainly revered his own ancestors at his own hearth, it was to everyone's benefit that the dead who warded off unseen spirits of destruction, and periodically stormed through the community waking fields and wombs to life, were the very ones who in their first life had proven themselves the most potent in every sense.

20. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*," Chapter IV of *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca 1967) is a great help in understanding the "complex and bizarre" symbolism "attached to and surrounding the liminal *persona*" (96) and of liminality generally.

21. Mircea Eliade, *Zalmoxis. The Vanishing God.* Trans. by Willard Trask (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1972) 6.

"a magico-religious experience that radically changed the young warrior's mode of being. He had to transmute his humanity by an access of aggressive and terrifying fury that made him like a raging carnivore." (Quoting his own *Birth and Rebirth* 84)

The warrior-as-carnivore is not, of course, a uniquely IE phenomenon. The most famous of all are probably the notorious leopard-men of Africa[22]. But it is IE, and we have at least indirect evidence of it for most of the daughter peoples; where we do not it is because we have virtually no evidence of the pagan period for that group. The wolf/dog is the animal of choice in Indogermania, and we have evidence of this in Germania, where we also have bear-warriors. The "vehicle" for the change is the animal skin; as we have seen this is rarely a total costume -- in battle it almost certainly never was. In *Iliad* X, 334f, Dolon dons a wolf's pelt and a cap of marten-skin[23] before he sets out to sneak about the swift-running ships of the Achaeans. Euripides has him dressed in a wolf's costume, evidently misinterpreting the wolf-skin as a disguise; yet he also has head-hunting as part of his purpose. There is an old story here of a young warrior transformed into a wolf and out to win the proof of his manhood. There is werewolfery galore in Greece, as we have seen, though no direct evidence of wolf warriors as in

22. Eliade 15f.; Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 366.

23. This is a κυνέη, which reveals what it was supposed to be. But the marten itself is not without precedent: see 3.4, n21, above on the *galerus* of weasel-skin at the Saturnalia), and also Alföldi *Struktur* 37ff ("Das Wieselvolk").

Germania. Yet the indirect evidence leaves no doubt[24].

We have horse-masks, i.e. transformations, from Germanic and Slavic lands (see chapt.3), and mythical half-horse beings from Greece and India, and there are centaur-like beings on the horns from Gallehus. These certainly have to do with the same cultic brotherhoods[25]–the vrātya

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24. *Couroi et Courètes* deals with this matter in depth and breadth; but "Dolon le loup," by Louis Gernet, gives much of the same information in a capsule. It is a "good read," and all the more remarkable in that, in 1936, it presaged much of what was to come after it. Gernet knew Weiser's book, Dumézil's *Centaures*, and Jeanmaire's article on the *krypteia*. He did not know the recently published *KGG*, nor did he refer to the ethnological studies of non-IE tribes.
On p.199 (Tafel III, 1) of Alföldi 1951 there is a picture of Dolon from a silver vase. He looks for all the world like Romulus in his *Wolfsrachen*.

25. Dumézil, *Centaures* passim. The horse certainly had tremendous importance in IE cult, since there are reflexes of these man-horse sodalities all over, but whereas the layers of meaning of the *canidae* are fairly evident (chapters 8 and 13), the significance of the "horse" is elusive. There is no question about the importance of the actual animal: it was the secret of the IEs' success; taming of the horse for light harness and riding was the technological advance that allowed the Indo-Europeans to colonize huge swathes of Eurasia. The wolf-warriors, we know from comparative ethnological studies, must be much older. The horse, unlike the *canidae*, had great value as a sacrificial animal; it seems to have been inserted into the sacrificial schema above and apart from the normal animals, cattle, ovicaprids, and swine, and just below man. See Polomé, *Language, Society, and Paleoculture* 300f. for the significance of the (real) horse to the Indo-Europeans; there were also hippomorphic divinities, often twins, e.g. the Dioskouroi (301). This still does not explain the horse-men. One senses that the explanation is to be sought in the Centaur Chiron as educator of heroes vis-a-vis the bestiality of the race as a whole. Mares, the *Stammvater* of the Ausonians was half horse,

are associated with the Gandharva[26], who are masters of the veda and were the preceptors of the hero Arjuna[27]; the Centaurs are the educators, in the "forest," of *kouroi*; and the Germanic horse-masks are part of the complex of the folk-lore Wodan--but they are evidently something different from the wolf and bear transformations. There were buck-goat warriors; the buck is associated with Romulus and the wolf-cult, as well as the warrior-goddess Juno[28], and from Germany we have the Cornuti, a contingent of elite warriors in the army of Constantine[29]. But it is only

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half human; he died and was reborn three times (Radke 199; Versnel 148). There were Aryan tribes bearing horse names: Assakenoi, Āśvakāyana, Āśvāyana. "The Assakenoi are in fact the peoples which Alexander found after crossing the Panjkora and with whom he was compelled to fight hard." (Giuseppe Tucci, "The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi," *East & West* NS 14 [1963] 27). Karl Jettmar found evidence of Männerbund organization in the burial customs of these people; he also reports that the horse is still important in the cult practices of the living descendants of these tribes, although the horse as animal is of no use to them in their mountainous homeland in the Karakoram and Hindu Kush. ("Traditionen der Steppenkulturen bei indo-iranischen Bergvölkern," *Jahrbuch des Südasien-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg* 1966) We saw the *căluşari*, the "little horse dancers" of Rumania; we will meet horse dancers in India as well. An inscription refers to cult-servants of Dionysos called ἵπποι (Sam Wide, "Inschrift der Iobakchen," *Att.Mitt.*19 (1894) 281f). There is certainly something here which is eluding me.

26. Hauer 54.

27. Dumézil, *Centaures* 137.

28. Chapter 5 above; Alföldi, *Struktur* 125.

29. Alföldi, Cornuti, passim, with illustrations. See Jeanmaire 574f. for "the game of wolf and goat." The wolf-goat connection may be present in the name *Úlfheðinn*; s. Martha Paul, *Wolf, Fuchs und Hund bei den*

about the *canidae* that we have abundant testimony.

The Cimmerians were routed by the "valiant dogs" of the Scythians. "The word *bleid* 'wolf' repeatedly signifies simply 'warrior' in Welsh poetry."[30] Romulus is typically pictured in a wolf-skin, his face peering out from between its jaws. Conaire's foster-brothers and their *fían* go "wolfing" in Connacht, and Finn changes into a dog when he pulls his hood up over his head[31]. In Iran there are two-footed wolves which are worse than the four-footed kind[32]. The Dacians, a "martial brotherhood," bore the name of wolves[33]. "As long as [the young warrior] was wrapped in the animal's skin, he ceased to be a man, he was the carnivore itself."[34]

7.4. Ἔκστασις.

The young warrior in his wolf-skin was not only the carnivore itself, he was a raving animal, fearless and immune to pain. He fought in an ecstatic state. That intoxicants were sometimes used as an aid to

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Germanen (Wien: Halosar, 1981) 299 n211 to 90 #97.

30. John Carey, "Nodons in Britain and Ireland," *ZCP* 40 (1984) 14 n103.

31. Blaney 88; Sjoestedt 64, 85.

32. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 328ff, 344.

33. Eliade, *Zalmoxis* 12. As several Germanic clan names are formed on the base of "wolf" or "dog," see chapter 8.

34. *Zalmoxis* 7.

attaining this state is assured by the name *saka haomavarka*[35]. "[T]his name has to mean 'the people who turn themselves into wolves through *haoma*-intoxication'"[36] *Haoma* is *Soma*, and we saw Indra preparing for battle by drinking soma (chapt.5). But the ecstatic state can be reached in other ways; we know of war dances and battle songs which could whip the young warriors into a battle-frenzy. Most of the time, the donning of the skin in the belief that he was about to turn into a beast, or the very act of rushing into battle, was probably enough to put the youth into that state which the Greeks called λύσσα, "wolfish rage"[37]. The

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35. The Sakas were a Scythian tribe subject to the first Persian kings; *varka* is "wolf."

36. Wikander *AM* 64.

37. Lincoln's translation, and a good one. "Was die Griechen λύσσα nannten, hieß bei den Angelsachsen *wōdfreca*, 'wütendgierig'" Alföldi, Struktur 35; (in the OE word we have Odin [*wōd*] and one of his wolves, Freki!) With Frisk (II,147) and Chantraine (III,651), Lincoln favors the "wolf" derivation of *lyssa*. "(Attic: *lytta)*, a term meaning '1. martial fury' and '2. rabies'...*lyssa* represents an underlying pre-Greek **lyk-ia*...[and is] formed from Gk. *lykos*, 'wolf' <I-E **wlkʷo-*...The term is a derivative in **-ya*, a suffix which forms feminines and abstracts... One...can merely take them as terms that express an abstract entity such as an emotion or a general state of being."
Lincoln takes the sensible approach of looking at how *lyssa* is used in the *Iliad*. He gives three examples: 9, 239 (237-239) and 305 (304-306) concerning Hektor, and 21, 542 (537-43) about Achilles. "Two features are particularly vivid in these passages. First, the hero characterized by *lyssa* is viewed as absolutely irresistible...In their fury, both heroes are out of control...there is no assurance that [Achilles] would indeed be able to stop Hektor when the latter is possessed of *lyssa*. It is worth noting that only the two greatest heroes of the epic take on this state, and it

Celts must have been proverbial for this quality, because when Aristotle wants to give an example of an excess of courage he writes, "Someone would have to be raving or immune to pain (μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος) if he feared nothing, neither earth-quake nor the swollen sea, as they say of the Celts" (Ethics 3,7). This raving battle-madness struck classical authors as a signal property of Germanic warriors, as we have seen.

Ekstasis figured in the cult at times other than battle. There were the great festivals at which the brotherhoods played a leading role (3.5), as well as their private and secret orgies, at which an alcoholic brew-- mead originally[38], later beer or wine-- and sometimes other substances[39] were used for consciousness-raising. Then, as we saw, prophecy and poetry, both requiring an inspired or ecstatic state, were associated with these warrior brotherhoods. Sjoestedt lists the "rigorous

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increases even their great powers immensely...It is by no means clear that the hero possesses the *lyssa* or whether the *lyssa* possesses him." *Death, War, and Sacrifice* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1991) 131f.

38. Lüders, *Varuna* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1951) 344f. A god connected to the Männerbund is involved in the invention and the securing of the mead and/or whatever consciousness-raising substance supplanted it. In Scandinavia, at least, it is "the poet's mead," but this is likely something old, since beer had replaced mead as the drink of choice, even in Valhall.

39. See the suggestions in Hanscarl Leuner, "Die historische Rolle magischer Planzen und ihrer Wirkstoffe," in Herbert Jankuhn, Hrsg., *Vorgeschichtliche Heiligtümer und Opferplätze in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Abh. der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3 #74 [1970]) 279-296. For the Männerbund and Haoma-cult in Iran see Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 340.

requirements" for entry into the *fían*. "The candidate must have an advanced liberal education, being versed in the twelve traditional forms of poetry; and the heroes of the *fiana* are poets as well as warriors. A great number of poems are attributed to Finn, the *rígfhéinid* ('king-*féinid*'), to his son Oisín and his adopted son Caílte[40]." The kourotrophic Centaurs are themselves known for their orgiastic behavior, while the Gandharva are associated with soma and ecstasy and are heavenly musicians; Centaurs are connected in myth, Gandharva in rites and feasts, with ambrosia[41], the drink of immortality, paragon of all intoxicating brews.

7.5. Times and Seasons.

7.5.1. Festivals.

Great feasts took place at the natural great moments of the year: the solstices and equinoxes. The greatest feast of all, the Feast of the Changing Year, was associated with the winter solstice. These were later altered to fit the actual rhythms of life in the daughter peoples' new lands; solstices and equinoxes were still marked, but other times and other feasts became more important. In India life revolves around the monsoon rains. At Rome, the new year began March 1, the real beginning of spring in Italy. Then, as we saw (5.5.5.3), the *ancilia* were taken out of the *sacrarium* and paraded through the city by the dancing Salii. It was

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40. 83. There were impressive physical requirements as well, of course.

41. Dumézil, *Centaures* 190.

Mars' birthday, the beginning of the season of war.[42] Among the insular Celts the winter season and the New Year began November 1, the summer season on the first of May. On Winter's Eve the dead returned, represented by young men wearing masks or with blackened faces, dressed in white, and carrying on the way we have seen maskers behave during the Twelve Days and Carnival.[43]

But most European feasts of masks occur between Christmas and Easter. As we have seen, Wodan's time began with the last harvest, the real beginning of winter, which would vary from north to south, to around the spring equinox, but the masks were most active during the twelve holy days at the winter solstice. Yule, the midwinter feast, was still the feast of the changing year in Germania, and at such a boundary-time, we know, the boundaries between *Jenseits* and *Diesseits* also dissolve, and thus the dead are seen among the living. The twelve days were intercalary days[44], necessary to make lunar months conform to a

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42. The switch to 1 Jan. in 153 BC was for political reasons and had nothing to do with the 12 days (Dumézil, *Centaures* 8).

43. Alwyn and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975) 89ff. The Irish seem not to have marked solstices and equinoxes, but only Quarter Days. Not only the eve, but the day of 1 Nov. was spooky in Ireland. For Wales we know only the celebration of 1 May; for Scotland and Gaul we know virtually nothing. Ronald Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: their Nature & Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 176f.

44. Dumézil, *Centaures* 58. The present writer cannot make this work out arithmetically, but is willing to believe it nonetheless.

solar year. The Mazdean New Year, at the spring equinox, was a day of pleasure following a ten day feast of souls, that is, a visit of the dead, closing the old year.[45] Intercalary days are particularly worrisome and dangerous, particularly *liminal*, because they do not belong to any month: they are "betwixt and between[46]." In Germania the masked processions we have discussed above may take place at any time between Christmas and Easter--indeed the times vary from town to town[47]--whereas in Greece the Kallikanzari (see chapt.3) appear only during the Twelve.[48].

The Dead are always associated with the changing year. Thus at Rome, February, the last month, was the holiest month of the year and its rites the most venerable[49]. Since the Ancestors check on the behavior

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45. *Centaures* 57.

46. *Centaures* 39. See Turner, Betwixt, esp. the summary of Mary Douglas' theory of pollution, 97f.

47. *Centaures* 15f.

48. *Centaures* 38. In the mountains of Euboea, according to *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* by J.C. Lawson (cited extensively by Dumézil), boys born between Christmas and Epiphany are in danger of turning into καλλικάντζαροι; to prevent this, their mothers singe the new-born babies' feet. The tale of Pururavas suggests that certain men could become Gandharva at the New Year (140ff). For this reason Dumézil posits a special Männerbund of boys born during the Twelve, preserved as the Centaurs and Gandharva.
Herodotos IV, 109 seems to suggest that the Neuri men turn into wolves at a certain time every year (150), which Dumézil compares with the transformations of certain men of the Ossetes during the Twelve (92f).

49. So much so that when the calendar changed, February remained the

of their descendants during their visit, it is not surprising that the end of the year involves rites of purification. This is clearly the case with February[50]. The *luperci* seem to be two guilds[51] in charge of purification[52]. The etymology of *lupercus* has been much discussed; the first part clearly goes back to *lupus*, wolf[53]. They do not wear the wolf-

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same; neither could any days be added to it. February's sacredness, enshrined in its name, was now detached from its position in the year and had come to be associated with the month itself.
50. Ovid, *Fasti* II.19-36.

51. Dumézil would like the Luperci to have been horse-masks (*Centaures* 207f).

52. There was, in the reformed rite, at least, public confession/denunciation, see A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1974). The fertility connection is understandable: one way the powers-that-be punish mortals is to make them infertile. There are many layers here. The lashing will bring fertility in that it is a recompense for sins committed--a purifier--or it can be an example of that *Bewegungsmagie* we have seen before; most likely it was both and more.

53. Dumézil suggests *lupercus* may be an ancient dvandva, no longer understood (207 n5). Gruber suggests "**lupo-sequos*, d.h. *qui lupum sequitur*. Das Wort bezeichnet also den Gefolgsmann eines *lupus*." ("Zur Etymologie von lat. *lupercus*," *Glotta* 39 [1961] 274.) Aside from its wondrous complexity, this etymology's different treatments of the (original) two labiovelars has implications which I cannot go into here. Servius suggested *lupus* + *arcere*, which is the same wolf-aversion that was suggested for Λυκαῖος and Λύκειος when Zeus and Apollo could no longer be wolf-gods. Lastly there is "the view [of H.Jordan] that *lupercus* was merely a development by suffix from *lupus*" (cf. *nova--noverca*). Simple is often best. Faunus is Lupercus, and Faunus is the Wolf (see below 9.6.2); "his priests, the *luperci*,...were themselves

skin, or partial wolf costume, we have seen elsewhere; rather they are clad in goatskins and carry goatskin lashes. This does not necessarily support the *lupus-hircus* school, since a Hittite document dealing with certain theriomorphic cult functionaries describes a boy dressed in a goat-skin "who was supposed to howl constantly like a wolf[54]."

Lastly Dumézil points to the many feasts connected with kingship which are also connected to the New Year and concludes that the Indo-Europeans must have had leaders who rose from the ranks of the secret societies and wonders if this stage was already past at the time of the break-up[55].

7.5.2. Seasonal activities.

As we saw, the *fiana* "are represented as spending the season of hunting and warfare (from *Beltine* to *Samain*) roaming the forests of

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wolves and copies of their god" (Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*. Trans. by Harold Mattingly [New York: Dutton, 1938] 207).

54. Liane Jakob-Rost, "Zu einigen hetitischen Kultfunktionären," *Orientalia* 35 (1966) 420. A specific goat-wolf connection would be welcome, but the most likely explanation is the comparative ease of acquiring goat-skins. Wolf-masks in modern processions were frequently clad in sheepskins. This is, after all, *ritual* reality; if we can have, as we have often seen, *pars pro toto*, why not *hircus pro lupo*? We will have more to say about the Luperci in chapter 8 and Faunus in chapter 9.

55. *Centaures* 141ff. The Lupercalia was originally "das alte Königsfest des Jahresanfangs," Alföldi *Reiteradel* 91; Alföldi elaborates on this statement in the chapter on the Lupercalia in *Struktur* (Chapt.IV, 86-106). On a leader rising from the ranks of a Männerbund see Luria, "Ein milesicher Männerbund...," esp. 122-end. The stage was not past; in fact, nothing could have been more natural.

Ireland in pursuit of game, or as guerillas...During the winter season, from *Samain* to *Beltine*, they live mainly off the country like billeted troops[56]." It is interesting to note that aspiring *filid* (successors to the druids, sing. *filī*) received their twelve years of schooling during precisely the half of the year that the *fiana* were inactive. "Dieser 'Unterricht' dauerte vom Herbst bis zum Frühjahr, fand also nur während der kalten Jahreszeit statt. Im Frühjahr begab sich der Schüler, mit einem Zeugnis über Können und Betragen versehen, zu seinen Leuten zurück, um im Herbst möglicherweise dann eine andere Schule zu besuchen."[57] When we recall that the *féinid* had to be skilled in both reciting and composing poetry (7.4 above), we might be tempted to conclude that this seasonal complementarity is not coincidental.

Discussing the "wars," actually razzias, of the early Indians, Rau writes,"Wahrscheinlich kehrten solche Beutezüge mit regelmäßigkeit im Sommer (*grīśma*) jeden Jahres wieder; es war dies die Jahreszeit des

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56. Sjoestedt 82. In the gap I left is the statement, "The later tales present them as the appointed defenders of their country against foreign invaders, but this is clearly a secondary development." It is actually an archaic feature which surfaces in the later tales.

57. Wolfgang Meid, "Dichtkunst, Rechtspflege und Medizin im alten Irland." Manfred Mayrhofer, et.al., Hrsg. *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (Innsbruck: IBS, 1974) 30; s.a. Meid, *Dichter und Dichtkunst im alten Irland* (Innsbruck: IBS, 1971). The *filid* were originally also the handers-down of both history (including genealogies) and law; the Irish book of laws was almost entirely in verse. The judges (*brehon*) were a subset of the *filid*. They learned the old Irish laws by heart and transmitted them, even when they had become incomprehensible. Paul Gaechter, *Die Gedächtniskultur in Irland* (=IBS 2, 1970) 14-16.

Kriegers. [ŚB 13,4,1,2 u.ö.] Von den Kuru-Pañcāla berichtet TB 1,8,4,1-2 ausdrücklich, sie zögen jeweils im *śiśira* nach Osten auf Raub aus und kehrten im Spätsommer (*jaghanye naidāghe*) zurück."[58]

It is only from these two areas that such seasonal rhythms are reported; yet I believe we can assume that such was the case everywhere, indeed that this was the primitive situation. Climate would have required it, as in India, where the Kuru-Pañcālas returned from their razzias before the onset of the rainy season. Whatever the climatic pattern was, for any group practicing mixed herding and agriculture--which would be most, if not all, of our Indo-Europeans, even if the agricultural labor was performed by subject peoples--the cattle would be brought in close to the village after the final harvest to graze the stubble, manuring the ground and breaking it up for the next planting[59]. The razzias took place during those times when the herds were out away from the village; at these times the youth would both guard the perimeters and make forays into neighboring territories[60]. These rhythms would thus

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58. Rau 102.

59. See Goodenough 258f on the interdependence of herding and agriculture. The pattern would hold, of course, even if true pastoral nomads were preying on peoples practicing mixed farming and herding.

60. Jettmar found this lifestyle among living Indo-Iranian tribes of the mountainous region north of India. "Viehzucht ist bei Kafiren und Darden--im Gegensatz zu den Bergtadschiken--Männersache. Die Unverheirateten entfernen sich dabei mit den Herden weit und auf lange Zeit vom Dorf. Anderseits bilden sie die stets mobile Streitkraft... Vergleichen wir damit das Fundbild der Andronovo-Kultur...so finden wir auch hier eine Kombination von festen Dörfern und intensiver Viehzucht,

have varied from group to group according to the climate in the new homeland, just as the times of the great feasts varied. This rhythmic complementarity of war and agriculture explains why properly warrior and properly agricultural celebrations so often coincide. The yearly cadence we have seen at Rome, with Mars' part of the year from March through October, when the ancilia are out, and then November through February when they are tucked away in the sacrarium, is a ritual remnant of this cycle.

7.6 Sub-groups.

7.6.1. Small bands.

The youth comprising the **koryos* of a large tribe could be quite numerous, but we never see the whole group in action. Usually they appear in small bands. For Ireland Sharpe notes "the frequent mention of men in multiples of three, most commonly nine," and finds this "suggestive of a ritual background."[61] Nine is a "courètique" number,

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die eine weite Bewegung der Herden notwendig machte. Grjaznov glaubt, daß hier der Ansatzpunkt zur Entwicklung des Hirtennomadentums liegt. Vielleicht erklärt sich die Beobachtung, daß in vielen Andronovo-Friedhöfen...wesentlich mehr Frauen- als Männergräber gefunden wurden, durch eine dauernde Abwesenheit eines großen Teiles der männlichen Bevölkerung infolge ihres Hirtenamts. Als wichtiges Argument mag hier weiters dienen, daß bei vielen historisch greifbaren iranischen Völkern Altersklassen berichtet werden....Zuletzt hat Snesarev das Fortleben dieser Tradition in bündischen Organisationen untersucht: es reicht bis in die Gegenwart. Um so eher können wir auch mit einer langen Vorgeschichte rechnen." (20)

61. Sharpe 84, cf.86; McCone, Hund 109.

according to Jeanmaire[62].

Elsewhere the number which most often comes up is twelve. We have already seen how frequently berserks appear in groups of twelve, often called twelve brothers, certainly oath-brotherhoods (4). Dog and wolf warriors also appear in groups of twelve. Þorir Hund and eleven others, clad in reindeer skins, formed the core of the group which defeated King Olaf the Saint at the Battle of Stiklastaðir in 1030[63]. Groups of twelve are not only Germanic[64]. Dolon of Euripides' *Rhesos*

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62. "D'après Orphée et Pythagore, au dire de l'auteur des Theol. Arithm., le nombre 9 s'appelait *courètis* (Kern *Orph. Fr.* 314)," 570, n1. Nine is a frequent number in the Totenkult as well (Altheim, *TM* 76). For groups of sixteen see Kurt Abels, *Germanische Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte im Ambraser Wolf Dietrich* (Phil.Diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg i. Br., 1965); for groups of seven s. Widengren, *Feudalismus* 28. But multiples of three are most common.

63. See Paul 89. Þorir, who trafficked with Finns, had twelve reindeer cloaks made "with such wizardry that no weapon could pierce them; they were stronger than a ring-byrnie." Hkl., St.Olav 193 (Monsen 432). This is Snorri's rationalisation of the *Unverwundbarkeit* of the Dog-warrior, no different from that of the berserks he described in Ing.s. 6. (There is a play on names further on in the saga. Þorir and the King "exchanged blows, but the king's sword would not bite when it struck the reindeer skin coat...The king said to Björn the Marshall: 'Slay thou the Hound, as this iron bites not'." Björn struck Þorir with the hammer end of his axe; Þorir staggered under the blow but recovered and stuck Björn through the middle with his spear, saying, "Thus we stick bears." St.Olav 228 (Monsen 455f.) Paul notes that the surname Hund was also borne by Þorir's son Sigurdr.

64. But in Germania they are so common, it seems they came to be expected. When King Hrolf, for example, sets out with an army to visit

had twelve companions, all killed by Diomedes[65]. The Roman *Salii, Luperci* and *fratres Arvali* were all formed of phratries of twelve men; the last named were supposed to have been the twelve sons of Romulus' foster-mother, thus showing the sort of fictitious (or sacrally true) relationship we have seen among the berserks[66].

7.6.2. Groups of 50.

"The Lucani youth," writes Napoli, "by now partially transformed, in union with their Bretti initiators, at first, as Justinus says, organize into groups of fifty ('*ex numero quinquaginta*') and make raids on their neighbors' fields ('*ex agris finitimorum praedae soliti*'); then, having increased in number ('*confluente deinde multitudine, quum plures facti essent...*') and encouraged by the thought of loot ('*sollicitati praeda*') attack villages and city ('*infestas regiones reddebant*')."[67] This is something which is widely attested: groups of fifty *koryos-bündler*, which unite, usually into bands of one hundred fifty, so that "armies" of this size appear repeatedly. We have already met the hundred-fifty

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Athils, the strange old farmer with whom they over-night (Odin, unbeknownst to them) whittles away at the force until Hrolf is left with a few good men, twelve in all. (The way Odin eliminates the rest suggests the proofs before an initiation, but that's another story.)

65. Gernet 200.

66. For further oath-brotherhoods and sodalities in Italy see Alföldi, Struktur 117-124.

67. Napoli 79.

youths who went wolfing in Connaught with Conaire's foster-brothers.[68] "[T]he archaic poem [sic] *Tain Bo Froich* tells how Froech lived with a following of fifty boys (a recurring number among Indo-European initiatory bands) in the wild for eight years..."[69]

Strabo (15,3,18) tells how the tough Persian youth (κάρδακες, see above 7.1), were organized in groups of fifty, each led by an outstanding member of their age-set[70]. Widengren adds examples: "'und hervor laufen Pisotan, der Glänzende, zusammen mit 150 gerechten Männern, die die 'Lehrlinge' Pisotans sind und die einen Anzug aus schwarzem Zobelpelz...haben.' Die schwarze Farbe des Pelzanzuges deutet auf den bündlerischen Charakter dieser Schar hin....Die übrigen Stellen in Bahman Yast III 29, wo die 150 nur 'Männer' (*mart*) genannt werden, und III 42, wo sie '150 Schüler' (*150 mart i havist*) heißen, bringen nichts Neues. Etwas mehr ergibt eine Parallelstelle in Denkart VII 46, inder es heißt: 'Er läuft hervor zusammen mit 150 Männern, die starke und hochgewachsene 'Lehrlinge' sind..."

"Wir glauben also deutlich gemacht zu haben [Widengren continues], daß diese jungen Männer als 'Lehrlinge' oder 'Schüler' bezeichnet wurden. Ein wichtiges Detail muß unterstrichen werden. Wir haben schon gesehen, daß nach Strabo die Jünglinge in Abteilungen zu 50 eingeteilt waren. Wenn hier Pisotan als Anführer von 150 'Lehrlingen'

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68. McCone, Werewolves 4; cf. Wolf 173.

69. Jan Bremmer, "Caeculus," in Bremmer & Horsfall, 56.

70. Alföldi, Königsweihe 14.

auftritt, so sind ihm also 3 X 50 Jünglinge unterstellt, d.h. drei solcher Fünfzigmannschaften..."[71]

Widengren notes the curious fact that in the Slavic translation of Josephus' *History of the Jewish War*, but not in the original, Jesus has a band of 150 disciples about him[72]. Widengren posits Iranian influence, which Bremmer thinks unlikely, "since the translation originated in Kiev, a city where Iranian influence is hardly probable;" Bremmer attributes the figure to the commonness of groups of fifty and thrice fifty in the Indo-European world[73]. If Jesus' 150-group can be taken as evidence of these groups among the Slavs, then I would like to suggest that the three hundred "knights" of Svantovit were two groups of 150 -- which would mean that the Spartan ἱππεῖς were the same, at least originally.[74]

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71. *Feudalismus* 88f.

72. 89. Widengren translates the word "Knechte," in quotes. "Und wie ist der Terminus 'Knechte' hier zu verstehen? Das altslavische Wort *sluga*, das in diesem Zusammenhang erscheint, bedeutet zwar δοῦλος oder διάκονος, wird aber als 'Household' (kollektiv) oder 'Retainers' charakterisiert; die verwandten Worte im Irischen und Walisischen haben die Bedeutung von 'Heeresmenge' und 'Krieger'. Die Etymologie und die aktuelle Bedeutung zeigen, daß δοῦλος hier als *bandak* im Sinn von kriegerischem Männerbündler zu verstehen ist." (89)

73. Jan Bremmer, "The Suodales of Poplios Valesios," *ZPE* 47 (1982) 138.

74. "Aus ihrem religiös verklärten Prestige ist es erklärbar, daß der geschlossene Ring der 300 Reiter des Adels erst so spät durch den Andrang aufstrebender Elemente durchbrochen werden konnte." (Alföldi, *Reiteradel* 91)

Widengren also points to the 150 "Jungen" who follow CuChulainn, which are to be understood as "3 X 50-Mannschaften von Jünglingen," and to the druid Cathbad's "'Klasse' von 100, also 2 X 50, Schülern."[75] To these Bremmer adds the groups of 50 youths "in the very ancient tradition of Tydeus' expedition against Thebes, and in the story about the destruction of Siris, an event that has to be dated about 530 B.C."[76]

I have purposefully omitted evidence from India because it is at the center of the argument of Part III. We will close this section with the most spectacular fifty-group of all, from Herodotos IV 73. A year after the funeral of a Scythian king, "another ceremony takes place: they take fifty of the best of the king's remaining servants [i.e. the ones who had not had the honor of being killed and buried with him], strangle and gut them, stuff the bodies with chaff, and sew them up again....Fifty of the finest horses are then subjected to the same treatment. The next step is to cut a number of wheels in half and to fix them in pairs, rim-downwards, to stakes driven into the ground, two stakes to each half-wheel; then stout poles are driven lengthwise through the horses from tail to neck, and by means of these the horses are mounted on the wheels, in such a way that the front pairs support the shoulders and the rear pairs the belly between the thighs. All four legs are left dangling clear of the ground. Each horse is bitted and bridled, the bridle being led forward and pegged down. The bodies of the men are dealt with in a similar way:

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75. Widengren, *Feudalismus* 99.

76. Bremmer, Suodales 138.

straight poles are driven up through the neck, parallel with the spine, and the lower protruding ends fitted into the sockets in the stakes which run through the horses; thus each horse is provided with one of the young servants to ride him. When horses and riders are all in place around the tomb, they are left there, and the mourners go away."[77] So the king has an honor-guard of fifty of the best young Scythians on the finest horses; this is the *Totenheer*, the *feralis exercitus* κατ' ἐξοχήν!

7.7. Older **koryos-bündler.*

7.7.1. Weihekrieger.

Strabo, it will be recalled, hypothesized that there were some men "who were more warlike than the rest and spent their life under arms," so that they were called Κουρῆτες, even though Homer plainly used κούρητες to mean young warriors (5.5.5.4). Whether or not he is right, there were among the Chatti, according to Tacitus, men who kept the hair-style, dress, and mode of fighting of the young warriors all their lives. The paragon of this kind of warrior is Starkaðr (4.2.1); but Starkaðr is a lone operator. Unlike the Chatti, and unlike the berserks, some of whom, at least, seem to have been older warriors, Starkaðr belongs neither to a tribe nor to an elite group. There were also individuals, such as Harald Fair-Hair and Civilis, who consecrated themselves for a time, until a certain goal had been won, affecting the uncut hair and beard of the adolescent who had not yet passed the test for initiation into the age-set of married men. These were war-leaders, but

77. De Selincourt 265.

they were not members of a band.

7.7.2. Men without property.

Tacitus wrote of another kind of adult warrior who wore the dress and hair-style of the adolescents, the unwarlike who had never killed a man and so could not be initiated into the **teutā*. In the beginning of this chapter we learned that there were men in Ireland who could not move up to the **teutā* because they lacked sufficient property. I suggested when we were discussing the Chatti that I thought this was the real explanation for these warriors' remaining in *marge*, since a warlike people is unlikely to tolerate in its midst men who are cowardly and unfit for battle.

Indian texts refer to four kinds of Vrātya[78]. The first is the "normal" Vrātya who will be the subject of Part III. Of the other three, one is younger sons, and the two remaining are first sons who for different reasons have been disinherited. I think it is safe to see this pattern replicated all over Indo-Germania. None of these societies is classless at the time they enter history. India, even at the earliest period described by Rau, already had social classes (though, he stresses, nothing remotely like the later caste system), roughly the rulers and the ruled[79]. The vrātyas, like the Männerbünde everywhere, were of the

78.H.Falk 51ff. The texts are PB 17.1-4, LŚS 8.6, and KŚS 22.4.

79. Rau 65. "Die vier Stände...der Brahmana-Periode glichen den späteren Kasten in keinem Punkte...Die Stellen beweisen..., daß zur Zeit, als unsere Quellen entstanden, der Übertritt von einem Stand in jeden

ruling classes. Thus what we seem to have in the three "abnormal" types of vrātya are young nobles who are unable to take up their rightful place in society because they cannot meet the property qualification. As was suggested above, so long as every inch of the new homeland had not been subjected, these men could conquer property for themselves. The more established the nation was, the less opportunity would there be for younger sons to acquire property and take up an adult life-style.

7.7.3. Robbers and riff-raff.

About the vrātyas as about the Iranian *mairya* (Männerbündler, cf. *Marut*) it is said that they had robbers and all sorts of low types in their midst. This could easily look like the "right of rapine" misinterpreted by hostile commentators, if we did not hear concerning Romulus' band that it was joined by runaway slaves as well as murderers and other criminals, and indeed from a sympathetic source, Livy, who found the information embarrassing[80]. Servius (com. to Aenead 7, 678-81) tells of Praeneste's founding by Caeculus and his band of robbers[81]. The Bretti (2.1) are rebels according to Strabo, while Diodorus says that in the language of the Lucani, Bretti means "fugitive slave"[82]. Among the *hetairoi* ("inner

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anderen noch durchaus möglich erschien." 62f. See also Polomé, *Language, Society...* 304.

80. Bremmer, Romulus 38.

81. Bremmer, Caeculus 49.

82. Napoli 70f.

circle") of the Greek leaders at Troy were men who were fugitives from their own people because they had committed murder; "the word *hetairos* often means 'member of an age-set.'"[83]

Wenskus gives examples from German lands of bands of "Verbannte und Geächtete," although these do not seem to be based around cultic initiatory brotherhoods; often the leader himself is a man who has been banned by his own people[84]. Rau notes "Räuberbanden" in the service of nobles[85].

7.7.4. *Männerbund* and *Gefolgschaft.*

Our information comes from myth, history, ritual texts, and literature, and it is more than a little tricky to piece it all together and get a picture of an institution which, at the time it was flourishing, was both sacral and secret. It seems clear, though, that when the system was operating as intended, youths were initiated as full-fledged members of the **teutā* when they reached a certain age[86]. The entry of a new

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83. Bremmer, Romulus 39. "The more general meaning 'friend, companion' seems to be a later development, since this meaning does not tally so well with the typical element *swe* which indicates, as Benveniste expressed it, the membership of a group of *siens propres.*"

84. Reinhard Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Köln/ Graz: Böhlau, 1961) 369.

85. Rau 13.

86. I think we might even interpret the mock monster-killing (4.5.1) as a way of assuring that every young man who had made it through the long and harsh novitiate would become a full adult.

qualification, from the domain of the secular, signals a breaking-down of the system. Now that the groups are no longer strict age-sets, but include older males for whom there is no place in society, they are joined by other men who, for various reasons, are outside society, such as fugitive slaves and men who have been outlawed by their own tribe[87]. The cultic Männerbund is in process of evolving into the (secular) retinue or *Gefolgschaft*.

It is often difficult to tell where we are in this process. The problem is complicated by the fact that Story, whether in the form of myth, or epic, or legendary history, or folk-tale, has to do with individual heroes. Thus in Justinus' *report* we learn of groups of boys who are sent to live in the forest with herdsmen and, in groups, commit acts of robbery and mayhem, attracting all the baser members of society and finally founding their own city and becoming a permanent nuisance (Napoli *passim.)*. The *myth* of the founding of Rome centers on the divine twins;

87. Bremmer concludes that the marginal position of the adolescents "attracted other marginals such as run-away slaves, outlaws and exiles" (Romulus 41). My own instinct is that this would not have happened so long as bands were made up solely of pre-adults, who were initiated into adult society when they came of age, for although the boys themselves were in *marge*, this part of their training was very much embedded in the social structure; far from simply running amok, they are following a traditional pattern. The youth "acts abnormally because he is obedient to tribal tradition" (Turner 100). The male who reaches a man's age but cannot enter into man's estate has no place whatever in the structure. These poor souls are truly marginal. And I should think that at the time when this sort of koryos-bündler began to proliferate was the point at which other marginal types could find a place in the bands.

each is the *leader* of a group which is of interest only because of its leader; and when Romulus founds his city, he invites robbers and runaway slaves to join him. The same goes for the *hero-tale* of Cyrus. The reason so many heroes' biographies follow the same pattern is that all youths of the ruling class went through the initiation process we have been discussing. *In illo tempore* a baby boy was abandoned in the forest, where he was found and raised by a herdsman, and so on. This hero's experience is the paradigm of the process[88]. When the process has gone out of use, we are left with the myth or the hero-tale, the more confusing and embarrassing elements of which will be altered over time.

I have indulged in this digression because some have looked at the *comitatus* (4.4) and the retinues, identified them with the Männerbund, and then doubted that the Männerbund had anything to do with cult. By now there have been too many excellent books and articles written on this subject for such doubts to remain[89].

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88. There were age-sets and rites of passage before Cyrus, of course. Cyrus probably replaced some other paradigmatic hero in the story. "Kyros, der durch seine Taten den Persern die Vorherrschaft im alten Orient gewonnen hatte, hat nach seinem Tode die Stellung des mythischen Urkönigs--des Helden eines sehr verbreiteten Königsmythos--erhalten..." (Alföldi, Königsweihe 11). This fascinating subject has been handled by Alföldi in the above and in his *Struktur*; by Bremmer in the articles on Romulus and Caeculus in *Roman Myth and Mythography;* and especially by Gerhard Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1964).

89. As to Tacitus' comitatus: The Germans of his time were at different stages in the evolutionary process sketched above. Tacitus does not give enough information for me to want to guess whether the chief around

whom the comites gathered was in the position of the παραστάτης of the Spartan boys, i.e. his band was a stage in the initiatory process and therefore cultic, or whether he was a war-leader with a loyal retinue. They would invoke the gods in any event. Haraldr and Civilis consecrated themselves to the war-god, but the armies they led were not cultic brotherhoods--whereas the berserks in Harald's army were.

Chapter 8. *Canis* and the **koryos*.

8.1. Wolf and Dog.

In the ideology of the Männerbund, Wolf and Dog "mean" the same[1]. Where we have such a neat opposition: Village - Forest, we might expect the dog to belong to the former, the wolf to the latter with its connotations of "outside," thievery, especially of livestock, and danger. What we find instead is that the two have the same value as

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1. "Während auf materieller Ebene eine verschiedene emotionelle Bewertung von Hund und Wolf erfolgte, nähern sich die beiden Tiere auf kultisch-mythischer Ebene einander an, sodaß man letzlich von einer Identifikation sprechen kann." Paul 281.
This identification is far from self-explanatory. It certainly does not arise from a confusion of the two animals. The dog, as Paul points out, is the first domesticated house-pet, the first helper of men; and by the time of the earliest strata of the cultic complex we are examining, it had already been bred selectively to yield several different breeds. The dog that accompanies the Lar praestes, for example, is plainly a dog and not a wolf.
Furthermore, even ideologically there are distinctions, though these are outside the cultic sphere of the Männerbund. *Lyssa*, when it means rabies (*Tollwut*), applies only to dogs, never wolves; wolfish behavior in real dogs (as opposed to real warriors) is pathological, but obviously quite normal in wolves (Lincoln, Death 134f.). The wolf as outlaw, for which Gmc. has reserved the word *warg*: OE *wearg*, ON *vargr* (mlat. *wargus*), cannot be an outgrowth of the *dibergach* of the Männerbund, for this is cultically sanctioned and, as Sjoestedt rightly stated, legal (chapt.7) whereas the crime that causes a man to be declared a wolf is something so heinous as to render him forever unfit to live among humankind. This subject is handled masterfully by Mary Gerstein in "Germanic *Warg*: the Outlaw as Werwolf" in Gerald James Larsen, ed., *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley: U of Cal.P, 1974) 131-156.

ferocious fighters--Odin's warriors are "mad as dogs or wolves"--, stand in the same relationship to Death, and are associated with the same gods. This last we will discuss in chapter 9; Canis and Death is a subject which goes far beyond the parameters of the Männerbund and will receive a chapter of its own (13).

8.2. Ethnonymns and Männerbünde.

The name of the Dacians, a Thracian people ancestral to the present-day Romanians, was, according to Strabo, originally Δάοι, which comes from the root **dhau*, 'to strangle,' as in Phrygian *dawos* 'wolf' (Hesych. δάος...ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος) and Illyrian *Daunos*, first king of the *Daunii*; the Latin wolf-god Faunus; and the Thracian war-god Κανδάων[2]. The Dacians were thus "Wolves." "The fact that a people

2. Pokorny 235; Diakonov 101; Paul 156f.; Felix Solmsen, "Zeus Thaulios," *Hermes* 46 (1911) 286-291; Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung* (München: Rudolf Trofenik, 1968) 105ff.; Siegfied Gutenbrunner, "Die Deanas im Widsith, *ZfdA* 77/1 (1940) 29; Hans Krahe, "Sprachliche Aufgliederung und Sprachbewegungen in Alteuropa" (Abh. der geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl. der Akad. der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 1959 N[r] 1) 6. The concept of wolf as *Würger* 'strangler' (cf. on *warg*, above) yields many of the wolf-names which do not come from IE **ulk"os*, s. Wilhelm Havers, *Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu* (SB/ÖAW 223 [1944-46] 5.Abh.) 37-43. Further names on the **dhau* root are the Zeus by-name θαύλιος 'der Würger' and the Deanas of the OE Widsith. "So nannten sich die Bewohner der apul. Landschaft Daun, für die damit vielleicht auch ein Wolfsmythos erschlossen werden kann." Paul 157. The second element of the Lydian name Κανδαύλης is also formed on this root, but the first element is "dog": Κανδαύλης is not the "wolf" but the "dog-strangler"! (cf. Κανδάων) According to Hesychius, Kandaules

takes its ethnic name from the name of an animal," writes Eliade, "...cannot be understood except as the expression of an archaic religious concept."[3] Eliade considers it "probable" that the ethnic name of the Dacians "derives...from the ritual epithet of a martial brotherhood" which lived like wolves and was under the protection and leadership of a wolf-god[4]. A Männerbund conquers some territory and establishes itself as rulers over the indigenous peoples. The resulting "state" is called by the name of the conquerors, the Wolves. This is a likely scenario because we have both historical evidence and the testimony of myths of descent telling that very story.

8.2.1. "Wolf" men as founders of city-states.

8.2.1.1. A historical example.

The first instance which comes to mind is that of the Lucani-Bretti whom we met above. Here, in the full light of history, without the romantic embellishment of myth, we have a Männerbund, formed around

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is an epithet of both Hermes and Herakles; in a fragment of Hipponax, Hermes is invoked as "κυνάγχης, who is called Καυδαύλης in Maeonian" (Ernst Sittig, "Zwei etymologische Vermutungen," *KZ* 52 [1923] 204). Herodotos tells us that the Greeks called Kandaules Myrsilos; he was the last of the Heraclids to rule at Sardis. Nicolus of Damascus has a Sadyattes as the last Heraclid (Sittig 205). "[S]o ergiebt sich, daß Kandaules der sacrale Name des sonst Sadyattes genannten Königs ist. Als Kandaules ist er das irdische Abbild seines Vaters Herakles..." (H.Gelzer, "Das Zeitalter des Gyges," II, *RM* 35 [1880] 517, n2).

3. *Zalmoxis* 3.

4. Ib. 12.

the adolescent sons of the Lucani but joined by fugitive slaves and other social outcasts, which was so successful militarily that it was able to grab the territory of several Greek settlements and found its own city in 356. The savage life suited the Bretti so well that they continued waging war, i.e. razzias, against their neighbors; they routed the troops sent by Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, and then those of Alexander, king of Epirus; only in 293 were they finally brought to heel by an expedition from Sicily led by Agathocles[5]. They were evidently content to go by the name "Rebels" or "Runaways.[6]"

8.2.1.2. Mythical foundation stories.

On the mythic level there are numerous tales of a Männerbund with lupine connections founding a city[7]. The classic case is, of course, the

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5. Justinus, in Napoli 61f; Alföldi, Struktur 129f. Alföldi writes, "Die 'Lucaner' sind 'Wolfsmänner'" 129; and "Bei...den Brettiern finden wir weitere Spuren unseres Wolfsmythos" 130. They certainly behave as such; but Strabo and Diodoros spell the name Λευκάνοι; a coin from the area has Λουκανομ (= Lucanorum, Vetter 138); Lewis & Short show ū.

6. Strabo: Βρεττίους γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀποστάτας (Napoli 63); Diodoros: κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον οἱ δραπέται Βρέττιοι προσηγορεύοντο (71).

7. Recent years have seen the appearance of several excellent studies of this mythical complex. The *sine qua non* from now on for anyone researching foundation myths or warrior brotherhoods is Gerhard Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes: Kyros und Romulus*. Also recommended are: Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates*; Dominique Briquel, "Trois Études sur Romulus," in Bloch, *Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-Romain* 10 (Paris 1980); and Jan Bremmer, "Romulus, Remus and the Founding of Rome." Bremmer's article on Caeculus, in the same book, also applies; s.a. "Suodales."

founding of Rome. The story is too well-known to warrant repeating, and yet it is so loaded with tantalizing tidbits of the sorts of things we are looking at that I cannot resist giving it in outline.

a) The founding of Rome.

After Amulius usurped the kingship of Alba from his older brother Numitor, he made Numitor's daughter a Vestal virgin to preclude her bearing a son. She, however, was made pregnant by Mars. The twins she bore were exposed, and she was killed. Mars, the wolf-god, sent a she-wolf who nursed the twins in the wolf's cave on the Palatine, the Lupercal. When they were of age to be weaned they were found by a herdsman named Faustulus or Faustus, whose name is connected to another wolf-god, Faunus (from the same **dhau-* root as the Dacians)[8]. He took them home to his wife, Acca Larentia, mother to the fratres Arvales[9]. The twins were thus raised in the "forest." Each was leader of a band of youths and spent his days rustling cattle. One day the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius got into a fight; Remus got involved, was captured and delivered to Numitor, who recognized him. Meanwhile

8. Radke, *Götter* 120 u.a. The Lupercalia is Faunus' feast and the preparation for the new year beginning on Mars' birthday. Faunus is Mars' son according to Appianus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 121. "Als 'Wolf' kann Faunus nicht vom *lupus Martius*...getrennt werden," Franz Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* (Frankfort a.M.: Klostermann, 1951) 28.

9. Acca Larentia = Larenti(n)a = Larum mater? (Binder 84-88) No: Radke, *Götter* 55, 164-172; "Acca Larentia und die fratres Arvales," *ANRW* I.2 (1972) 421-441.

Romulus went to his aid, with troops consisting of every kind of outcast, from fugitive slaves to fugitive criminals, whom he had organized into centuries, each with its leader. Romulus and his men, and Remus with an army of citizens whom he had incited to rebel, defeated Amulius and killed him. Their grandfather gave them permission to found their own city.

Remus' scornful leap over Romulus' wall and his consequent death are well known. Romulus was now sole ruler over a *civitas* of males: thus the rape of the Sabine women. They would not, at this time, have been Sabine, but abduction of women was the other goal of warfare in those simpler times, and we can be sure that local women were taken, along with the livestock to feed all those rowdies[10]. The Bretti must have done the same; likewise the Dacians, if our scenario is correct.

b) Caeculus and the founding of Praeneste.

Caeculus' contingent in Turnus' host is strangely clad and armed, showing that these warriors represent a *koryos*-Männerbund: without chariot or shield, most of them throw lead balls, the rest have two spears each. They wear a head-covering of wolf-skin (*fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros/ tegmen habent capiti*), a crude boot on the right foot, nothing on the left (Aeneid VII, 678-90).[11]

Of Caeculus himself it is told that he was conceived upon a virgin

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10. Ruth Katz Arabagian, "Cattle Raiding and Bride Stealing." *Religion* 14 (1984) 107-142.

11. No one, to my knowledge, has come up with an explanation for the peculiar footwear.

by a spark from a hearth, thus by Vulcan, and abandoned by her at birth near a temple of Jupiter. He was found by some maidens, and then "later collected a band around him, lived as a robber for a long time, and finally founded the city of Praeneste in the mountains."[12]

8.2.1.3. The *ver sacrum*.

In the two mythical foundation stories above, and in the historical case of the Bretti, new cities were founded by mixed groups of youths and adult fugitives. The rite of the *ver sacrum* was the impulse behind the foundation of cities by a very narrow age-set: all the boys born during one sacred spring. The rite was familiar to nearly all the Italic tribes but the best-known instances are among the Sabini. Most of the Italic peoples and many of the cities begin their history with a *ver sacrum* legend which tells of their land-grab at the expense of the sedentary indigenes. Both Dionysius and Strabo refer to it as a custom also among the Greeks and some barbarians[13]; stories of Apollo as leader of colonizing groups resemble the Italic *ver sacrum*[14].

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12. Servius, in Bremmer and Horsfall 49.

13. Evans 31.

14. "Groups of colonizers frequently called themselves Apolloniatai and many colonies bore the name Apollonia. Recently various authors have tried to interpret the founding of Naxos, Cyrene and Tarente in this perspective." The stories associated with Apollo tell of sending forth a tenth of the population. Versnel 140.

Under certain circumstances[15] the people vowed to sacrifice to the gods whatever would be born in the coming spring. The young animals were sacrificed when they reached maturity; when the young men reached maturity they were sent out, under the leadership of Mars in the form of one of his sacred animals. "The Hirpini are so called from the name of the wolf, which was the name that the Samnites, we are told, gave to the animal which guided them in seeking new homes. But since *hirpus* is, however, the regular word for wolf in the Sabine dialect...this may really be another instance of legendary colonization of a small section of Italy from the Sabine territory as a result of a vow to Mars."[16] The Picentini take their name from Mars' sacred bird, the woodpecker, *picus*, which guided their founders; the inhabitants of Bovianum named their city after the bull he sent to guide them[17]. The Marsi and Marrucini are thought to be named for the god himself. "The Mamertini, though clearly sacred to Mars[18], nevertheless maintained that they were under the

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15. The wrath of the gods is the usual reason given for the Italic tribes. DH I,16 mentions over-population or shortage of food for some other reason; or thanksgiving for victory in war. "The main object was to prevent overpopulation by a procedure which was known both in Greece and Italy and which may be seen as a relic of an Indo-European tradition." Versnel 141. We will see evidence of the practice among the Germans. 16. Evans 32.

17. For Mars' bull see Altheim, Sprache 25-28. The Ἰταλοί, Itali are young bulls; just as the *Picentes* are young woodpeckers (28).

18. Paulus/Festus: "Mamers...qui lingua Oscorum Mars significatur." Vetter 369.

guardianship of Apollo during their migration"[19].

It should be noted that the young men went out as an all-male group. The age seems to have been twenty or twenty-one, the age at which, as we saw in Ireland, the youth ideally became a member of the **teutā*, i.e. a mature warrior and citizen. Their land-grab had to entail the usual theft of cattle and abduction of women: else no colony. There were also *vera sacra* which involved only the first-fruits of fields and beasts, just as there were tithes to Apollo of everything except human beings. On the other hand, "even Rome is supposed to have been a *ver-sacrum*-founding, as Verrius says, and to which individual features of the Romulus-legend point."[20] It is easy to imagine that dissatisfied elements

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19. Versnel 140. On the *ver sacrum,* in addition to Versnel see Udo Scholtz, *Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1970) 49-52; Evans 31-33; Wissowa Kultus 145f; Reinhold Merkelbach, "Spechtfahne und Stammessage der Picentes," *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1955) 513-19.

20. Scholtz 50; cf. Andreas Alföldi, *Die trojanischen Urahnen der Römer* (Basel: Reinhardt, 1957) 24f. "Es ist eine Grundvorstellung der römischen Sage, daß die ursprüngliche Bewohnerschaft des Palatin Hirtenvolk war, nicht troischer Adel, nicht ausgewandertes albanisches Patriziat." A.Schwegler, *RG* 1, in Alföldi, *Struktur* 109. In fact the Latins did enter Italy as cattle-herders (115); but cattle-herders were cattle-rustlers, as we have seen. The Greeks could find it all shocking; Cicero and Livy could find it embarassing; "was aber dem Kulturmenschen als Schande erscheint, gehörte in der Frühzeit tatsächlich zum Ideal der Männertugend... Nicht nur bei den Germanen war der kultische Geheimbund der Jünglinge von der normalen Gesellschaft ausgestoßen und vogelfrei; das *ver sacrum* der Italiker machte ganze Jahrgänge eigenen Blutes heimatslos, ließ sie auf Raub und Mord

of the native population, such as fugitive slaves or criminals, joined up with these youth-bands; their aid would have been welcome[21]. I think it more than likely that these *ver sacrum* legends were sanctified versions of what was in reality a Bretti-type land-grab. The later Romans themselves tried to explain away the low-life in Romulus' retinue. However that may be, it is plain that there are ample precedents for Eliade's scenario of the way his Dacians came to be called wolves.

8.2.2. Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire.

Cyrus the Great was, of course, an historical ruler; he did not found Persia, but in transforming it into a superpower and extending its dominion, he counts as an *Urkönig* and takes on the properties of a mythical king[22].

Like Romulus, Cyrus was exposed as a new-born. In the original

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angewiesen sein und **umgab diesen Aderlaß mit religiöser Weihe.** Die Zwillingsgründer von Sparta, die allerlei Fremdlinge aufnehmen, vertreten denselben mythischen Typus, und die Wolfsbrüder am Lykaonberg Arkadiens gehören gleichfalls hierhin." (120, emph. mine.) Chapter 5 ("Hirtenkriegertum und Männerbund") of *Struktur* deals with this topic chiefly from the Italic side, with apt comparisons with other IE peoples.

21. My objection to these loose elements joining an age-set (2.7.4) does not apply here: this age-set, having been expelled, is no longer a part of the social structure of the old tribe. Versnel has compared the youth of the ver sacrum to *pharmakoi* (141), which makes them very like "wolves" in the *vargus* sense (N1).

22. For the Cyrus story, Binder's book, of course; also Alföldi, "Königsweihe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden," *SAVk* 47 (1951).

version of the myth he must have been nurtured by a god-sent female dog, or even born of kynomorphic gods; in the versions of Herodotos and Pompeius Trogus, he was rescued by a herdsman whose wife was named Spako, in Greek Kyno, bitch, just as Acca Larentia had to be a former prostitute, *lupa*, to explain away the Mars-sent *lupa* which nursed the twins. And just as Faustulus' name is derived from that of the wolf-god Faunus, Spako's husband Mithradates is named after the Iranian Männerbund-god Mithra (4.2). There follow the "forest" life, the leadership of a band of boys, the successful fight for the throne[23].

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23. One notices after a while that founder-hero tales tend to look alike (see Bremmer, Romulus 26f., for outline). Aside from obvious calques--the Caeculus story, for example, is plainly modeled in part after the founding of Rome--there are good reasons for this. The tales have two parts: 1) the hero's birth, exposure, and nurturing by the divine surrogates, first animal, then human; 2) growing up in the "forest," and leading a Männerbund, eventually all the way to the throne. The first part is the sign of divine selection. Whether the boy's real parentage is known, as in the cases of Cyrus and Romulus and Remus, or unknown, as in the case of Caeculus, the important thing is that the god has chosen these boys, whether he actually begot them (Romulus and Remus, Caeculus) or not (Cyrus). In other words, Cyrus did not become king of the Medes and Persians because he was the son of the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, and his vassal Cambyses, king of the Persians, but because he was divinely ordained for this role, as indeed Astyages had been warned in a dream before the boy was even conceived (another familiar trope!) As to the second part, this is the way boys of the ruling class were raised among the Indo-Europeans. In (1), then, a mythical trope replaces reality, whereas in (2), reality is raised to the level of myth.
Discussing the various *Origines* of the German tribes Karl Hauck writes, "daß germanische und mittelalterliche Stammbäume neu beginnen können mit Männern, deren Leistung als so außerordentlich angesehen wurde,

The system of separating boys according to age-sets and sending the youths out into the wilds to learn survival skills and become hardened for the works of war continued well into the historical period in Persia[24]. Not only did the historical Cyrus become the mythical paradigm of the Persian king, his life became the mythical paradigm for the way noble Persian youth were raised and educated[25].

8.2.3. Wolf-folk and Dog-folk.

8.2.3.1. Ethnic names.

Ethnic names from "wolf" or "dog," more commonly the former, are attested widely in Indo-germania.

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daß sich von ihr das ganze Geschlecht herleitet... [Further,] daß solche außerordentliche Leistungen gefeiert werden als das Wirksamwerden der Götterkräfte in solchen Helden, indem auf sie die primordialen Mythen übertragen werden und die Kultnormen an ihre Leistung anknüpfen." "Lebensnormen und Kultmythen in germanischen Stammes- und Herrschergenealogien," *Saeculum* 6 (1955) 202. This is what we have in the Kyros myth.

24. Binder 29ff.; Alföldi, Königsweihe passim.

25. This subject has been studied fully by Geo Widengren in *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*. The chapter "Der Hochgott und der Männerbund" of his earlier work, *Hochgottglaube*, is one of the first studies of the religious aspects of the Männerbünde and still valid on every point. Because the system continued in Persia long enough to be observed and described as a living institution, these works, especially *Feudalismus*, are indispensible to anyone interested in the Männerbünde anywhere in Indogermania.

a) Wolf-folk of Anatolia.

Among the Anatolians we find *Luvians, Lycians,* and *Lycaones*, as well as areas which are called "*Lugga*-Lands."[26] Paul Kretschmer brings the lands together with the latter two peoples, who are worshippers of the wolf-god. Kretschmer demonstrates by comparison with other ethnonymns that the Ethnica in *-άονες* express a religious relationship, and the Lykaones are a further proof of this, for the name of their mythical founder, according to Stephen of Byzantium, is Lycaon. But there is a Lycaon associated with Arcadia, the first priest of Zeus Lycaios and founder of his cult on Mount Lycaion and of the Lycaia; "his name can thus be interpreted as 'Worshiper of Lycaios.'"[27] And Lycaios is the Wolf-god[28].

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26. "Der Name der Lykier und andere kleinasiatische Völkernamen," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930) 1-17. ***Ru-Ku*** was a collective designation for all of southwest Asia Minor in an Egyptian text; in Hittite inscriptions the Lugga-lands comprise southwest Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, and Lycia. These lands are mentioned in several Hittite and Egyptian texts. "Bedarf auch die geographische Frage noch weiterer Untersuchung, so scheint es doch jedenfalls schon im 14. Jahrhundert v. Ch. mehrere Länder gegeben zu haben, an denen der lykische Name haftete." (1-2)

27. Ib.14f.

28. λύκαιος. "Die normalen Adjektivformen zu λύκος sind λύκιος und λύκειος...." "Zwar scheint die Endung -αιος zunächst auf den a-Stamm -λύκη zu weisen; aber wir wissen, daß diese Endung in außerattischen Dialekten auch auf o-Stämme übertragen worden ist: ion. ἠλιαῖος, ὁδαῖος, νησαῖος, χερσαῖος, νόμαιος, Ἱπποῖος, Πτολεμαῖος, lak. συρμαία von συρμός, korinth. Ἥρα Βουναία, ther. Ζεὺς Στοιχαῖος, epirot. Κολπαῖοι von κόλπος usw..." (ib. 15).

"Verwandt ist der Zeus Phyxios in Lukoreia am Parnaß[29]. Aber auch der an so vielen Orten verehrte Apollon Λύκειος oder Λύκιος[30] ist derselbe Wolfsgott, und schon aus diesem Nebeneinander von Zeus und Apollo geht hervor, daß der Wolfsgott ursprünglich ein selbstständiger Gott war, der erst nachträglich mit Zeus oder Apollo (auch Pan Lykaios auf dem Lykaion) gleichgesetzt wurde. Auf der theriomorphen Stufe war offenbar der Gott selbst als Wolf gedacht..."[31]

Arcadian Lycaon is the son of Pelasgos[32]. In other words, the Greeks felt the cult of the Wolf-god to be "Pelasgian," pre-Greek. Chronologically, then, the Lycaones and Lycians can be connected with the same Wolf-god worshiped in Greece. "Denn diese Ethnika werden durch die Erwähnung der Lugga in den hethitischen Inschriften schon so früh bezeugt, daß sie nicht von den griechischen Kolonisten Kleinasiens herstammen können. Wir werden also die Λυκάονες als die Verehrer des Wolfsgottes, die Λύκιοι als die zum Wolf Gehörigen, die Wölfischen deuten[33], was natürlich im wesentlichen dasselbe sagt, und annehmen, daß

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29. Cf. the city of the Wolf-god's son Romulus as "asylum," and the Brettii as "fugitives."

30. "Die Epiklese heißt fast immer Λύκειος, Λύκιος epigraphisch sicher nur kaiserzeitlich," Fritz Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome: Schweizerisches Institut, 1985) 221 N30.

31. Kretschmer 15.

32. Kretschmer cites "Hesiod Fr.44 bei Strabo V 221" (16).

33. Cf. Eliade's Dacians.

der Dienst dieses Gottes dem südlichen Kleinasien mit dem vorgriechischen Hellas gemein war."[34]

Arthur Ungnad concluded from the fact that in the Hittite inscription VAT 13061, UR-BAR-RA-*i-li*, written ideographically, often replaces the usual *lu-ú-i-li*, that the Luvians are the "Wölfische." He translates UR-BAR-RA "wolf," rather than the customary leopard, jackal, or tiger because in Sumerian ur-bara means literally "'der Hund der Außenseite', d.h. 'der nicht im Hause lebende Hund'"[35].

b) An Ossetian wolf-clan.

"The Ossetian epic of the Narts has...conserved some survivals of notions, going back to the Scythian epoch, of warriors as dogs or wolves. The ancestor of one family of the Narts, *(Æ)xsærtæggatæ* (< Ir. **xsaθraka-*) incarnating the warrior function of the tri-partite schema of Dumézil and corresponding to the Indian *Ksatriya* bears the name *Wærxærg* which is derived from the ancient Ossete word **wærx* (< Ir. **vrka-*). One of the greatest Nart heroes, Soslan, became invulnerable after being immersed in wolf's milk. The wolves were assembled for this purpose and milked by the grandmother of all dogs, Silam, whose name

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34. Kretschmer 16.

35. "Luwisch = Lykisch." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35 (1924) 3. "Daß ur-bara bzw. *barbaru* im Gegensatz zu einem 'heimischen' Tier stehen, zeigt die Verwendung des Wortes für 'fremd' (also ganz wie griech. *βάρβαρος*, das ein Lehnwort aus dem Akkadischen ist)." (2) Cf. Ernst Weidner, "Βάρβαρος," *Glotta* 4 (1912/13) 303f. cf. also James Mellaart, "Anatolia and the Indo-Europeans" *JIES* 9 (1981), esp.142-45; and see Kretschmer's comments on Ungnad, Lykier 16.

is obviously to be compared with *Sarámā* of the *Rgveda*, who is closely connected to the warrior god, Indra.[36]

c) Other wolf-folk.

Hyrkania is the Greek approximation of the east- or northeast Iranian *Vəhrkana* (west Iranian *Varkana*), a satrapie at the south-east corner of the Caspian (Hyrkanien) Sea in Alexander's time but a much larger, and very important area, at an earlier period (RE IX, 454ff.). *Vəhrka* is wolf, and so this was an area the early Persians called "Wolfland;" its people were the *Υρκανοί/ Hyrcani* to Greek and Latin writers. In Phrygia we find the tribe of the *Orkoi*[37]. We have already met the *Hirpini* in Italy and the Thracian *Daoi* or *Daci*. According to Strabo there were nomadic Scythians called *Daoi* east of the Caspian Sea (RE IV, 1945f.)[38]. On the same root *ăhau-* (wolf as "Würger") may be formed the name of the Illyrian *Daunii*, and also of the *Deanas* of the OE poem "Widsith," (63[39]), whom Gutenbrunner ("Die Deanas im Widsith") places in Raumariki (south-east Norway), making them neighbors of the *Wulfingas* (29) and *Glomman*[40] (21, 69).

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36. Ivančik 317. 37. Kretzenbacher 106; Eliade *Zalmoxis* 2.

38. Pokorny 235; cf. Diakonov 101.

39. This, and the other names, are in the dative plur. in "Widsith" -- Deanum, Wulfingum, Glommum. "Leider läßt der Dativ *Deanum* die Wortbildung nicht genau erkennen. Am wahrscheinlichsten sind die Ansätze *Deanas*, germ. **Daunoz*, und *Deanan*, germ. **Daunaniz*. Der erste Ansatz würde auf den Sinn 'Wölfe' führen, der zweite auf 'Wolfleute, Genossen des Wolfes' o.ä." 29

d) Dog-folk.

The great tribe of the Langobards was once a small tribe called the Winnili, a name connected etymologically with German *winnig*, 'heulend vor Wut'[41]-- "wie es sich im bayerisch-österreichischen Mundbereich bis zur Gegenwart im Sprachgebrauch für 'rasend vor Wut' erhalten hat[42]" -- and meaning "dogs." The story of how they got their new name, the Long-beards, from Wodan himself is told by Paul the Deacon in his Historia Langobardorum (end of the 8th C), Book I, Chapter 8[43]:

> [The Wandals tell their neighbors the Winnili to pay tribute or fight (Chapt 7)] At this point, the men of old tell a silly story that the Wandals coming to Godan (Wotan) besought him for victory over the Winnili and that he answered that he would give the victory to those whom he saw first at sunrise; that then Gambara [mother of the Winnili leaders Ibor and Aio] went to Frea [Frigg] wife of Godan and asked for victory for the Winnili, and that Frea gave her counsel that

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40. Glomman, from *glammi*, m. 'wolf' (ANEW 172), a poetic word, related to glam, glamm n. 'noise'--probably from the wolf's howling, like 'barker' for 'dog,' 'forest-barker' for 'wolf.'

41. "winnec, winnic windic adj wütend, rasend, toll..." "winnen stv III,1 ...wüten, toben, heulen..." Lexer 323.

42. "Vgl. A.Schmeller [et.al.], Bayerisches Wörterbuch II..., 'winnet, winnig' = 'mit der Hundswut behaftet, toll'." Kretzenbacher 83 & n4; cf. Gunter Müller, *Studien zu den theriomorphen Personennamen der Germanen* (Köln/Wien: Böhlau, 1970) 229. Cf. the noise, especially the barking and baying of dogs, in the Wild Hunt.

43. Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*. Trans. by William Dudley Foulke. Ed., with introd. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: U of Pa., 1974).

> the women of the Winnili should take down their hair and arrange it upon the face like a beard, and that in the early morning they should be present with their husbands and in like manner station themselves to be seen by Godan from the quarter in which he had been wont to look through his window toward the east. And so it was done. And when Godan saw them at sunrise he said: 'Who are these long-beards?' And then Frea induced him to give the victory to those to whom he had given the name. And thus Godan gave the victory to the Winnili.

The tale is told more circumstantially in the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*[44] (c.670), while the earliest source, Fredegar (early 7C), tells only that the new name was supposedly (*fertur*) given by Wodan, the occasion being a battle with the Huns (Chuni).

The Winnili were probably not the whole tribe of the Langobards but rather the elite young Männerbündler in their dog- or wolf-head helmets, who turn up a little later as the cynocephali (PD I, 11), in a

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44. This version is given in the Appendix (315ff) to Peters' edition of PD. It contains the entertaining detail that Frea turned Godan's bed around and then awakened him, so that he would look out of the east window at where the Winnili were standing when he rolled out of bed. Paul, finding the tale silly, made short shrift of it. It is just silly enough to suggest that there is a real cult legend behind it. The tradition that Wodan gave the tribe its name is evidently a firm one.
There may be some truth behind their refusal to pay tribute as well. Tacitus (Ger.40) contrasts the small tribe of the Langobards with the immense tribe of the Semnones of 39; the Langobards are secure against their strong and populous neighbors not through submissiveness but by risking all in battle. In 5 AD Velleius Paterculus, who had accompanied Tiberius in his successful thrust against the Germans, described them as a tribe which surpassed even German savageness; it is, in fact, with this notice that they enter history. Walther Schultz, "Die Langobarden als Wodanverehrer," *Mannus* 24 (1932) 220.

story which Paulus takes to be only a desperate trick. The Langobards are still a small tribe; they want to pass through the territory of the Assipiti[45], but these folk are not obliging, and the Langobards "did not dare engage them on account of the smallness of their army." So they think of a ruse. "They pretend that they have in their camps Cynocephali, that is, men with dogs' heads. They spread the rumor among the enemy that these men wage war obstinately, drink human blood and quaff their own gore if they cannot reach the foe." They also make their camp look as big and populous as possible. The Assipiti are duly duped.

Silly as Paulus found the idea, we know that there were dog and wolf-headed warriors. Blood-drinking occurred in at least two kinds of circumstances: In the rite of *Blutsbrüderschaft* the "brothers" drink a small amount of each other's blood to form the new blood relationship; this rite is well-attested between two men and can probably be assumed as the basis of the groups of twelve berserk "brothers" of 4.2.1,n7.[46] Drinking blood and eating raw meat were reputed to make warriors fierce and formed a standard part of the education of the adolescent Männerbündler; drinking the blood of a particular animal, such as a wolf, and eating its heart and perhaps some other organ gave the warrior

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45. Possibly the Usipetes mentioned in Tacitus' *Annals* (I, 51), Peters 19, n2.

46. On this subject see Leopold Helmuth, *Die germanische Blutsbrüderschaft* (Wien: Halosar, 1975).

the specific qualities of that animal[47].

And there are other aspects of the story which suggest that the Winnili may well have been a Männerbund of a larger tribe who went off like the youths of the *ver sacrum* and became a tribe in their own right. Chapter XIII tells how the Langobards, "in order that they might increase the number of their warriors, confer liberty upon many whom they deliver from the yoke of bondage..." (PD 21). In other words, the Langobards incorporated fugitive slaves into their warrior-band, just like Romulus and the Bretti. If this is so, then we have in them an example of how successful a little band could ultimately be[48].

Two more things which suggest a Männerbund are Paulus' remark in 7 that the "Winnili were then all in the flower of their youth," and his notice in 9 that, however "worthy of laughter" a story of a tribe's being

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47. Recall Hott's transformation after imbibing the blood of the beast. Bjarki himself gained strength by drinking his brother Elgfrothi's blood. We prefer not to recall the repulsive scene towards the end of the *Niebelungenlied*.

48. "This system of incorporating into the body of their warriors and freemen, the peoples whom they subjugated in their wanderings, made of the Langobards a composite race, and it may well be that their language as well as their institutions were greatly affected by this admixture of foreign stock (Hartmann, II, pp.8,9), and that their High-German characteristics are due to this fact." Peters, PD 21 n1. (The work he is citing is vol. II of Ludo M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* [Gotha, 1903].) Peters (following Hartmann) is thinking of a whole tribe absorbing foreign elements, but what he has said about their institutions and language would be true in either case. It is easier to imagine a Männerbund doing this than a tribe.

given a name and a victory by a "god" may be, "[i]t is certain...that the Langobards were afterwards so called on account of the length of their beards untouched by the knife, whereas at first they had been called Winnili; for according to their language 'lang' means 'long' and 'bart' 'beard.'" Peters notes, "This derivation comes from Isidore of Seville. He says, 'The Langobards were commonly so-called from their flowing and never shaven beards' (Etym., IX, 2, 94...)" (PD 18, n1). Uncut beards, we have seen (4.2.1), are a sign of consecrated warriors. If indeed all the men of the Langobards continued this custom, even after they had become a great tribe, it would be an indication of a special relationship between this tribe and Wodan, that is, *all* the men felt themselves to be consecrated to the god who gave them both their name and their first victory at the beginning of their existence as a Volk[49].

The most compelling argument, however, is in Chapter 2, where

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49. After listing several commentators' suggestions as to the real meaning of Langobard, Peters cites two who like "long-beards" and adds, "Bruckner [*Die Sprache der Langobarden*, Strasburg 1895] remarks that the name of the people stands in close relation to the worship of Wotan who bore the name of the 'long-bearded' or 'grey-bearded,' and that the Langobard name *Ansegranus*, 'He with the Beard of the Gods,' showed that the Langobards had this idea of their chief deity." 18, n1. Since Wotan is the Áss κατ' ἐξοχήν (see Polomé, "L'Étymologie du terme germanique **ansuz* 'dieu souverain," *EG* 8 [1953] esp.44), '...Beard of the God,' i.e. Wotan, is even better.
Hauck points out that the tribal name is the plural of the god's by-name, not a derivation (Lebensnormen 210). The fact that Odin is beardless on the Torslunda plate (I.3.3) and some of the other artifacts where Hauck has identified Odin is due to "stammesgebundenen Sonderformen gemeingermanischer Kulte" (212).

we learn that the Winnili who set out on the great migration which Paulus is chronicling were a third of the population of their original island home[50], selected by lot to seek their fortunes elsewhere when the island could no longer support them. This looks very much like the kind of situation which gave rise to a *ver sacrum* in Italy and to many of the Greek colonial expeditions (8.2.3). But if it was a Männerbund which set out, what was Gambara doing along? She seems to be a fixture--whereas I do not think we need concern ourselves with the wives of the naming tale; that has too much the look of the folktale about it, and the wives are absent from Fredegar's version. Gambara appears in the Chronicon Gothanum as a "prophetess or sibyl" (PD p3, n4), such as other German tribes had with them even in war: cf. Veleda, the seeress of the Bructeri, who was very nearly worshipped and who played an important role in the Batavian uprising led by Civilis (Tacitus, *Histories* IV, 61ff)[51].

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50. Paulus was probably referring to the Scandinavian peninsula, which the ancients thought to be an island. There is good reason to believe the Langobards did originally come from Scandinavia.

51. [Veleda was] "a maiden of the tribe of the Bructeri, who possessed extensive dominion; for by ancient usage the Germans attributed to many of their women prophetic powers and, as the superstition grew in strength, even actual divinity. The authority of Veleda was then at its height, because she had foretold the success of the Germans...(IV.61). Ambassadors from the Romans were not allowed in her presence; "She dwelt in a lofty tower, and one of her relatives...conveyed, like the messenger of a divinity, the questions and answers" (65). (Church & Brodribb 636, 639.)
Hauck alludes to Gambara's "priestly function;" he stresses the fact that this is *sacred history* (Lebensnormen 209 & N135a).

d) *Hundingas* and *Ylfingar*.

Much[52] identified the Langobards/ Winnili with the Hundingas[53], the people of King Hunding who was killed by Helgi Hundingsbana of the Ylfingar. Much regarded the battle between the Hundings and Ylfings as an historical tribal war between the Langobards/Winnili and the Glomman/Lemovii, which he identified with the Ylfingar. In his doctoral dissertation, *Helgisage und Helgikult*[54], Alfred Ebenbauer, building on Höfler's theory expounded in "Das Opfer im Semnonenhain und die Edda" of the connection of the Hundings and Ylfings with the cult described by Tacitus in *Germania* 39, shows that rather than tribes, "[d]ie beiden Gruppen entsprächen vielmehr den Gegnern innerhalb eines Kultgefüges, d.h. eines Kultkampfes, wie dies...zum Szenarium eines Kultfestes gehören kann. Die beide Parteien entsprechen aber auch deswegen keinem Stamm, wie man sich dies trotz dieser kultischen Theorie vorstellen könnte, da viele Stämme am Fest der Semnonen teilgenommen haben und eine Beschränkung des Kultkampfes auf zwei Stämme schwer denkbar wäre." Paul adds, "Somit ist Ebenbauer m.E. beizustimmen, wenn er den Hundingen und Ylfingen eine Struktur der

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52. Paul cites Much's articles on Balder (109ff), germ. Osten (145ff), Wiðsith (120ff).

53. "Diese Identität wurde weitgehend unbestritten angenommen, vgl. Wenskus, Stammesbildung 490 A 399; Malone, Widsith 176f.; Ebenbauer, Helgisage 5ff." Paul 133.

54. Phil.Diss. Wien 1970.

Altersklassen und Männerbünde zugrunde legt..., wie dies Wagner ["Dioskuren, Jungmannschaft und Doppelkönigtum"] bereits für die ausziehenden Winniler annimmt."[55]

Regarding the compulsion to identify one tribal name with another of the same or similar meaning, e.g. the Lemovii are the Glomman, Paul is certainly correct when she asks, "Muß man überhaupt zuordnen? Es ist tatsächlich so, daß der Hinweis auf mehrere Gruppen, die in jenem Zeitraum in jenem Gebiet Tiersymbolik--und zwar auch die gleiche--aufweisen, nicht unbedingt bedeuten muß, daß diese nicht auch unabhängig voneinander existiert haben können. Als sicherste Verbindung von der Früh- zur Spätzeit kann man Heðinn [of the *Hildesage*] und seine Zugehörigkeit zu den Glomman nennen. Alle anderen Zuordnungen sind spätere Kombinationen. Man darf nicht vergessen, daß die Berichte doch erst ab der Völkerwanderungszeit belegt sind, was die Wuffingas, Ylfingar, Wülfinge, Hundingas und Winniler betrifft. Ein Vergleich--falls ein solcher gestattet ist--mit der römischen Frühzeit zeigt auch dort mehrere Wolfsgeschlechter bzw. Stämme, die unter dem erobernden Zeichen des Wolfes, ihres mythischen Stammvaters, Land besetzen, bzw. dann um ihn in ihren neuen Wohnsitzen einen Kult entwickelten..."[56]

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55. Paul 134.

56. Paul 136. For more wolf and dog ethnonymns see Kretzenbacher 82ff.

Arruns addressed his prayer to Apollo as "guardian of holy Soracte;"[58] Servius identifies Soranus as Dis Pater. An Apollo-Dis Pater would be very close to Vediovis, a sort of death-dealing Apollo[59]. Some authorities call the Hirpi Sorani a tribe; Pliny calls them a few families (*familiae sunt paucae quae vocantur Hirpi*, NH VII, 2, 20); most, however, agree that they were a priesthood, a *Kultverband* like the Luperci.

Binder points out that everything we know about the Hirpi Sorani is also found in the myth of Romulus or the rite of the Lupercalia. The Hirpi are priests of the wolf-god Apollo, the Luperci belong to the wolf-god Faunus. Like the cave in Soracte from which the noxious vapors come, the cave of the Lupercal, near which the wolf nursed the twins,

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58. "Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo...," "highest of gods, Apollo, guardian of holy Soracte..."

59. Veiovis/Vediovis was both Jupiter and Apollo, but also a terrible ruler of the Underworld. (Alföldi, "Redeunt Saturnia regna III: Juppiter-Apollo und Veiovis," *Chiron* 2 (1972) 219).
Soranus was very likely the local god of Soracte, who later came to be identified with Apollo at a time when people came to the realisation that local gods were really manifestations of great gods. Apollo came into Italic religion late enough that he was never given a native name. Vediovis seems indeed to be a primitive Apollo: Apollo before he was stripped of his terrible side, i.e., before the wolf-god became the light-god.
"The name Soranus is of uncertain derivation, though it is connected by Otto [RE] with a gens name. It may be associated with the priestly title *sorex* known from two inscriptions in Falerii. There is no evidence, however, that the god ever left Soracte, and his name could be connected with that of the mountain where he had his sanctuary." Evans 149. According to S.P.Cortsen, Soracte is an Etruscan name connected with the death-god Śuri ("Etruskisches," *Glotta* 18 [1930] 183f).

and where the Lupercalia begin, is an entrance to the underworld. The explanation of the rites as the means of avoiding death from the vapors shows that the rites of the Hirpi, like those of the Luperci, were rites of purification. Then there is the story of how the herdsmen of Soracte, engaged in sacrifice, were surprised by wolves who made off with the exta, the parts belonging to the gods. And Ovid tells how cattle thieves stole the herds of Romulus and Remus while the twins were sacrificing. The twins and their bands left the sacrifice and gave chase. Remus, having recovered his part of the loot, and returning first with his men to the place of sacrifice, ate the *exta*; here Remus and his men are being like wolves, grabbing the partly cooked exta from the fire and devouring them. As Binder says, surely we have here an ancient feature of the myth[60].

60. Binder 92-3. For all that it has a surreal quality, jumbled as it is; I suspect it is something very old indeed. "Durch den Akt des *exta de igni rapere* sind die aufgeführten Stellen mit der Werwolf-Gesellschaft der *Hirpi Sorani* verknüpft. Die uralten theriomorphen Züge dieser Gemeinschaft, die mit den Luperkern verwandt ist, verdienen besondere Beachtung. Die *spelunca*, wo die Werwölfe ihren Räubersitz habe, wurde durch eine abschreckende Erzählung geschützt; die Devise *rapto vivere* ist uns bei der spartanischen Krypteia, bei den Kardakes der Achaemeniden und den *latrones Romuli* begegnet; wichtig ist auch die Verbindung der Wolfhöhle mit der Unterwelt. Den arkadischen Werwölfen hat man auch das Essen von Menschenfleisch als Mittel zur Wolfsverwandlung zugeschrieben." (Alföldi, Struktur 148.) For the Luperci as well "un sacrifice humain originel n'est pas exclu," Jean Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion Romaine* (Paris: Payot, 1957) 80; it is probably a safe assumption for all of these werewolf bands (II.4.6) and see Burkert, *Homo necans* 105.
The theft of the exta recalls as well a strange rite at Delphi: "a group of

b) Some Hittite Cult Functionaries.[61]

In ritual texts of the Hittite empire, cult-functionaries are often mentioned who are called $^{LU.MES}$UR.GER$_x$, $^{LU.MES}$UR.BAR.RA, and $^{LU.MES}$UR.MAH, the "dog, wolf-, and lion-men." The dog was held in high esteem among the Hittites, so much so that there was a hefty fine for killing one, and fines for blinding or breaking the leg of a dog were similar to those for an unfree man. The dog was used both for hunting and guarding; apotropaic dog-statues guarded the entrances of buildings; living dogs were used in rituals and conjurings for the removal of evil powers and impurities, even standing in for the affected person[62].

The other two animals, wolf and lion, are defined in relation to the dog. The wolf, UR.BAR.RA, is called by some "brother of the dog," by others "strange dog," or, as we saw above, by Ungnad, the "outside dog" ("der nicht im Hause lebende Hund"). The lion, UR.MAH, is the

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Delphians encircles the sacrificer, carrying hidden knives of a singular form; immediately after the holiest part of the sacrifice they hurl themselves...at the victim, hack it to pieces, and run off with their 'loot.' So theft at the altar and σπαραγμός at once in a Männerbund rite." Walter Burkert, review, "Marie Delcourt: *Pyrrhos et Pyrrha*," *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 440. Burkert notes in comparison the Hirpi Sorani, the sacrificial rite in Lykosura [wolf's tail], and the cult myth of Kynosarges (440 N1). But in the topic at hand, Pyrrhos, who is sacrificing, is killed; and this reminds me of Indian cases, mentioned by Rau and Heesterman, of a sacrificer killed in the act of sacrificing and the sacrifice stolen.

61. The following comes from Liane Jakob-Rost, "Zu einigen hethitischen Kultfunktionären," *Orientalia* 35/4 (1966) pp417-422.

62. Jakob-Rost 417f.

"mighty, (exalted, noble) dog."[63]

"Die 'Hundemenschen' sind, wie aus fast allen hier gesammelten Belegen hervorgeht, im Kult, speziell im Ritual beschäftigte Personen...Aus den übrigen Belegen läßt sich feststellen, daß die Hundemenschen einen Obersten und einen Vorsteher haben. Sie stehen in Verbindung mit protohattischen Gottheiten und Schutzgöttern und haben während des Rituals zu 'bellen' und zu singen. Sie sind mit anderen Funktionären zusammen genannt, darunter auch mit den Pfortnern, halten auch Fackeln und Lanzen (als Wächter?). Ferner treiben sie Vieh herbei, bringen dem König Geschenke und Tribut und bekommen Brot, Wein und Kleidungsstücke."[64]

"Die zweite Gruppe der Kultfunktionäre, die 'Wolfsmenschen', haben z.T. ganz ähnliche Merkmale. Sie stehen in Verbindung mit protohattischen Gottheiten, z.B. Titiutti, sie tanzen und spielen das GIS^{D}INANNA.GAL (?). Auch die Wolfsmenschen sind mit anderen Personen zusammen genannt, vor allem mit den 'Dirnen'. Sie stammen aus verschiedenen Ortschaften und werden in Spenden- und Opferlisten erwähnt, bekommen u.a. Schafe und Brot. In Prozesseionen (?) laufen sie voraus, töten, schlachten und zerlegen (?) etwas."[65]

"Die 'Löwenmenschen' sind nur vereinzelt belegt. Sie gehen in einer (Ernte-)Prozession neben den *hazgara*-Mädchen und stammen

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63. 418 & Ns 5 & 6. It's interesting that the lion is defined as an exalted dog. It seems that dog is the unmarked category.

64. Jakob-Rost 419. 65.Ib. 419f.

ebenfalls aus verschiedenen Orten. Die übrigen Stellen sind unergiebig. Wichtig erscheint aber ein Hinweis auf einen 'Löwentanz'."[66]

"Nach diesen Belegen scheint es, als ob die Hundemenschen in erster Linie statische Funktionen hatten, während die Wolfsmenschen eher kinetische Handlungen zu verrichten hatten, etwa Tanzen oder Umherlaufen. Von den Löwenmenschen ist wegen der wenigen Belege kaum eine ähnliche Feststellung zu machen...Es handelt sich m.E. um Maskenträger bzw. Maskentänzer, die sich durch Zuhilfennahme von äußeren Mitteln wie Masken oder Tierfellen den Anschein des betreffenden Tieres zu geben suchten. Ein deutlicher Hinweis auf eine solche magische Verkleidung ist z.B. KUB IX 31 II 11, wo man einen Knaben in eine Ziegenhaut gesteckt hatte. Dazu hatte dieser ständig wie ein Wolf zu heulen. Zur äußeren Aufmachung z.B. der Hundemenschen gehörte gleichfalls das oftmals belegte 'Bellen'...Die Maske erstreckte sich hauptsächlich auf den Kopf, jedoch konnten auch andere Körperteile maskiert werden (vgl. KUB IX 31 II 11). Eine Bestätigung könnte in den Texten Bo 5840 Vs. 3 und 319/p Rs. IV 9 liegen, in denen es heißt, daß die Hundemenschen Kleidungsstücke erhalten, also wohl bis auf die Gesichtsmasken normal angezogen waren."[67]

Jakob-Rost next considers what the original significance of the masks might have been, noting that they are connected with pre-Hittite divinities and look like earlier cult-forms which the Hittites took over. The mandatory suggestion of totemism follows. Whatever it may originally have meant, "ist es - wahrscheinlich nicht mehr verstanden - zu

66. Jakob-Rost 420. 67. Jakob-Rost 420f.

appearance, if we may use the word, is strictly verbal, as in the story of Cyrus, whose foster-mother, according to Herodotos, was named Spako, Bitch (I, 110). The transition is evident in the Romulus myth, where Faustulus' wife, Acca Larentia, is called a *lupa*, she-wolf = prostitute[70]. But scholars agree that these stories are rationalizations of original myths in which the god himself in canine or lupine form sired the child, or both god and mother were in animal form, and the ancestor himself was pictured theriomorphically. Here is a small sampling of these tales.

a) Miletos.

Apollo secretly sired numerous children[71] on virgins of good family. Asklepios is the most famous; he was nursed by both a goat and a dog, and retained his links with the latter after his apotheosis. Among Apollo's many human children the best known is Miletos. He was exposed, but Apollo sent wolves to protect him and she-wolves to nurse him. He was found by herdsmen and raised by them; later he fled to Asia Minor where he founded Miletos[72].

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70. *Κυνώ, spaka* "(dog-)bitch" also mean shameless woman or prostitute, as words for female dog and wolf do in many languages. Recall Faustulus' relationship to Faunus, the wolf-god and sometime Mars'son, and Acca Larentia as mother of the fratres Arvales.

71. All of whom seem to have been exposed, owing to the difficulty in such situations of explaining to one's father that one's pregnancy was the result of divine favor rather than loose morals. The exposure motif then sets the stage for the heaven-sent wet-nurse.

72. Recall Apollo's role as god of the *dekateusis*, the Greek equivalent of the *ver sacrum*. See also Przyluski 132.

b) Lamissio, king of the Langobards.

Paul the Deacon tells this tale about the second king of the Langobards: "At this time a certain prostitute had brought forth seven little boys at a birth, and the mother, more cruel than all wild beasts, threw them into a fish-pond to be drowned...It happened therefore that when King Agelmund had stopped his horse and looked at the wretched infants, and had turned them hither and thither with the spear he carried in his hand, one of them put his hand on the royal spear and clutched it. The king moved by pity and marveling greatly at the act, pronounced that he would be a great man. And straightway he ordered him to be lifted from the fish-pond and commanded him to be brought to a nurse to be nourished with every care, and because he took him from a fish-pond which in their language is called 'lama'[73] he gave him the name Lamissio. When he had grown up he became such a vigorous youth that he was also very fond of fighting, and after the death of Agelmund he directed the government of the kingdom"[74] (PD XV).

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73. "Lama is not a German but a Latin word, found in Festus [L&S "slough, bog, fen"]...It lived on in the romance languages...If Paul or his earlier authorities took it for Langobard this was because it was unknown to the Latin learning of that time, though it was a current peasant word in Northern Italy with which a discoverer of ancient Langobard tales could appropriately connect the indigenous king's name..." Peters 27, n1. This was a convenient folk etymology, however, originating in the Lombard part of Italy; see n75.

74. 26f. "This story of the origin of Lamissio is inconsistent with the statement in the Prologue of the Edict of Rothari and with the Madrid and La Cava manuscripts of the 'Origo Gentis Langobardorum' which say that he was 'of the race of Gugingus'..."N3.

The *Origo gentis Langobardorum* gives the child's name as Laiamicho, which is considered the original form. Both Kemp Malone and Hans Friedrich Rosenfeld interpreted this name as "(kleiner) Beller," a diminutive formed to the Nomen agentis of lgb. **laian* "to bark," and this interpretation has been generally accepted[75]. Rudolf Much saw that the depiction of Laiamicho's mother as *meretrix*, "whore," must rest on the same sort of *double entente* as *lupa*, she-wolf and whore, in the Romulus story, and that in Langobardish, as in German, "Zohe," (bitch) can be synonymous with "Dirne" (whore). The birth of seven little boys at once suggests a litter of puppies.

The Winniler, let us recall, were worshipers of "Frea"; they became Wodan's after he named them. Many scholars, the present writer among them, believe that the two goddesses who, in Old Norse terms are

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75. Malone: "*Lājamicho* seems to be a diminutive of **Lājamo*, formed by the addition of a familiar suffix, the Langobardish equivalent of English *-ca*, Icelandic *-ki*. The name **Lājamo*, in turn, is obviously compound...The first element of **Lājamo* seems to be an extended base **lā-ja-*...The simple base **lā-* probably occurred in West Germanic, in a verb **lājan* 'bark, revile' = Gothic *laian* 'revile.' Cf. Icelandic *lá* 'scold.' [Cf. Lat. *lā-tro* 'bark,' 'bark at, rage, etc;' *lā-trans* 'a barker, i.e. a dog (poet.)' (L&S)] The same base with suffixal *-m* appears in Old Icelandic *læmingr* 'lemming,' which according to Torp originally meant 'barker.' The extended base, compounded with *-m*, presumably meant the same thing. The name **Lājamo*, then, probably means 'barker,' that is, 'dog,'for dogs are the barkers *par excellence*. And the extant diminutive form *Lājamicho* means 'little dog.' We thus have to do here with a nickname; the true name of the hero has not survived to us." "Agelmund and Lamicho," *AJP* 47 (1926) 326; for Lamissio/Laiamicho/ Lamicho see 325. Cf. Hauck, Lebensnormen 208; Binder 54; Paul 118.

Frigg, wife of Odin, and Freyja of the Vanir, beautiful, but of dubious morals, were originally one and the same goddess (see de Vries *AGRG* II 326). This is something we cannot go into here, but typologically there is no reason why a goddess should not be at once The Lady and The Beloved, or why the same goddess might not be called Lady by one group and Beloved by another[76]. Now many scholars, starting with Genzmer[77], claim that Freyja has canine affinities, based on Genzmer's interpretation of the famous line of Hjalti Skeggjason:

Vilk eigi goð geyja, grey þykki mér Freyja.

I don't like barking gods; Freyja looks like a bitch to me.[78]

To this bit of evidence F.R.Schröder adds the first stanza of *Hdl.*, in which Freyja addresses the giantess Hyndla (little dog) as "sister," *Hyndla systir*[79]. This is certainly less evidence than one would like; the

76. Frigg is married to Óðinn, Freyja to Óðr; both husbands tend to go off on extended journeys (5.2). The Frîja of Friday, *dies Veneris*, should be the young love-goddess Freyja, not the matronly Frigg, to whom her name corresponds. Frigg's morals are also questionable: cf. Yng.s.3, Lokasenna 26 and Saxo I.25. They could have split apart in Scandinavia, or they could have started out as that sort of goddess who can be manifest as both matron and unmarried girl--μήτηρ as well as κόρη; these had a tendency to come apart, see Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1991) 272.

77. And including Höfler, Hauck, Beck and F.R.Schröder.

78. Genzmer: 'Ich will nicht, daß Götter bellen (=ich mag keine Götter, die bellen); eine Hündin dünkt mich Freyja,' (quoted from Klaus von See, "Der Spottvers des Hjalti Skeggjason," *ZfdA* 97 [1968/9] 156.)

79. Cited from von See 156.

second example is particularly weak, since Freyja wants something from Hyndla and is plainly flattering her. Hjalti's verse is not weighty evidence, to be sure, but we must constantly remind ourselves how very little evidence we have of anything,[80] and the canine connection is a natural one, because Freyja is also involved with Death, according to the strange statement in Grm 14.4 that Freyja chooses half the *val*.

hálfan val hon kýss hverian dag
enn hálfan Oðinn á.

Every day she chooses half the slain/ and Odin the other half.[81]

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80. Still, I find Genzmer's interpretation more convincing than von See's argument against it. Von See is relying on the derived meanings of *geyja* 'bark (at)' -> 'slander' and *grey* 'bitch' (i.e. female dog) -> 'Dirne'. But no dictionary available to me has "whore" as a possible meaning of *grey*; rather, Cleasby-Vigfusson, Zoega, de Vries, and Gering (in the lexicon which accompanies his edition of the *Edda*) all have "paltry fellow" or the like as the figurative meaning of *grey*. Von See says *grey* is literally "a bitch in heat," "(läufige) Hündin," but again, I haven't found this anywhere. On the other hand, it can scarcely have been a compliment, or Hjalti would not have been outlawed for three years for *goðgá*, slandering the gods (with the figurative meaning of *geyja*!) Von See asks why the verse would be considered slanderous if Freyja were known to appear as a dog. By 999 when the verse was spoken, gods no longer appeared theriomorphically. To a pagan, the implication that "your sometime *kynomorphic* goddess looks to me like nothin' but a houn' dog" would be insult enough.

81. *Kjósa val* is a delicate way of saying "kill," Vm.41,4: *val þeir kjósa*, of the Einheriar (2.1 & n4). Freyja looks rather like a valkyrie; she is *Schenke* for the gods as the valkyries are for the heroes in Valhall. But the valkyries must originally have looked like the various death-demonesses of Irish lore; and Freyja, I am convinced, is soul-sister to Hekate.

Again, this is all we have, but Freyja is certainly a fertility goddess, and death and fertility typically go together. That Death and the Dog is the most obvious of connections, I hope to make clear; and if "female dog" carries connotations of lasciviousness, all the better in a fertility goddess.

But, as Hauck pointed out[82], if we have in the mother of Laiamicho a fertility-cum-death goddess in canine form, we are very close to Acca Larentia in wolf form of the Romulus myth. If this is so, then the father must have been a martial god in canine form[83]. We are seeing, perhaps, what is left of an old pattern of a myth of ancestry.

This story of an early king's descent from a dog, together with the original dog-name, Winnili, of the tribe, and the dog-head helmets of the Langobard warriors, are the counterpart of the wolf-warrior/ tribe/ ancestor complex. Far from being the silly stories Paul takes them for, they go back to ancient cultic and genealogic traditions. The dog continued to be an important symbol among leading families of the Langobards, as we shall see in the next section[84].

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82. Lebensnormen 207.

83. *Wōðanaz, or the same sort of god under a different name. In the Langobard history, Odin and Frigg are already married. It would be interesting to know when that happened. The older kind of divine spouse was the "Mrs. Wodan" type, cf. Indra-Indrani, Zeus-Dione. One suspects the pairing Wodan-Frea was a marriage of convenience like that of Zeus and Hera; there are hints here and there of the same sort of adversarial relationship.

84. Höfler makes a good case for a dog or wolf connection in the names of Agio and Agilmund as well, "Cangrande von Verona und das Hundsymbol der Langobarden," *Brauch und Sinnbild. Eugen Fehrle zum*

c) The Welfs of Swabia.[85]

Warin, the count of Altdorf and Ravensburg in Swabia, had a son, Isenbart[86], whose wife once gave birth to twelve children at one time. At her command, a maid was supposed to take eleven of them away in a basket and drown them. Count Isenbart came upon the servant as she was carrying out her assignment. He asked her what she was carrying in the basket, and she answered, "Young whelps." The count ordered her to open the basket. He saw the boys and learned from the servant, who no longer resisted, the countess' gruesome plan. Since then the counts of Altdorf have been called the Welfs.

As in many German stories, the intended exposure of the children did not come to pass. Behind this story is presumably an older one, in which the counts of Altdorf were truly descended from dogs. The dog on the Hessian coat-of-arms is one thing which leads to this conclusion. The expression "blind Swabians" or "blind Hessians" could be a residue of this conception, as well as the name "Hundshessen," attested for the Hessian Welfs as late as the sixteenth century[87]. The story of the young

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60. Geburtstag. Ferdinand Herrmann & Wolfgang Treutlein, Hrsg. (Karlsruhe: Südwestdeutsche Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1940) 121, n86.

85. The following is translated directly from Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes*, p54f.

86. A wolf-mask name, cf.Isengrind; Müller, Wolfhetan 206, cf Blaney 24, and above II.2.4, n23.

87. According to J.Grimm, the expression was still current in the

whelps and dogs was widely disseminated throughout Hessian territory.

8.3. Wolf-men and Dog-men.

PNs meaning "wolf" or "dog," or formed upon elements with such a meaning, were common throughout Indogermania[88].

8.3.1. The Lombards.

When Vergil tells the frightened Dante of the Greyhound who will kill the she-wolf he is fleeing and become the savior of Italy, he is playing on the name of Dante's great patron, Cangrande I, of the noble della Scala family of Verona[89]. In the Latin sources, official documents

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nineteenth century: "noch heute nennt man in ganz Deutschland, ohne zu wissen warum, beide die Hessen und Schwaben 'blinde', und wer etwas nicht gesehen hat, das anderen in die Augen fiel, wird auf der Stelle 'ein blinder Hesse' gescholten.... Süddeutschen und Schweizern müssen die Schwaben herhalten: 'blinder Schwab' ist schweizerisches Sprichtwort." (*Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* 566, quoted in Binder 55, n23.) Binder continues, " Den Namen 'Hundehessen' bezog man sekundär auf den hundähnlichen Löwen der hessichen Fahne, von den Schwaben erzählte man sich, ihre Kinder lägen nach der Geburt neun Tage lang wie die Hunde blind. Neben diesen volkstümlichen Deutungen der genannten Redensarten finden wir andere: die Hessen brachte man über die Chatten mit lat. 'catus, catulus, catellus, catta'[young of an animal, esp. puppy], mit den Hunden in Verbindung. Diese Deutung hält schon J.Grimm a.a.O. 567 für unrichtig und schreibt: "Sichersten Aufschluß gewährt uns... der Mythos von den Welfen, der sich unter Baiern, Schwaben und Hessen, wahrscheinlich auch bei Skiren und Rugiern, in wechselnder Überlieferung seit uralte Zeit entfaltet hat."

88. And still are in Germany, at least: Wolfgang (cf. *berserks-gangr*); disguised in Adolf, Rudolf; even the simplex Wolf is not uncommon.

89. "Can Grande is believed by many scholars to be 'the hound' of the

as well as poetry, he was called "Canis magnus," the Big Dog[90]. "The symbol of the dog must have been precious to the Scaligeri. It has left its mark not only on their coat of arms, but even on their names: no less than five of the first nine Scaligeri lords bear names or by-names of this kind."[91] Mastino I (died 1277), the paternal uncle of Cangrande I (1291-1329), and Cangrande's nephew Mastino II bear the name of a large and fierce breed of dog: "Spezie di cane che tengono i pecorai a guardia di lor bestiame."[92] Cangrande II (d.1351) was a grand-nephew of Dante's patron; his brother and successor, Cansignorio, was the ninth lord. He

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first canto of the *Inferno*, who 'shall not feed on land or pelf, but on wisdom and love and valour', and who is to hunt down the wolf of covetousness; and the description agrees well with that here," i.e. canto xvii of the *Paradiso*, where the other heraldic symbol of the Scaligeri, the ladder of the family name della Scala "surmounted by the imperial eagle," leaves no doubt that Bartolommeo della Scala is meant; the nine-year-old boy is Bartolommeo's younger brother Cangrande I, who would have been nine at the time of Dante's vision. John D. Sinclair, text, translation and comments on *The Divine Comedy* (NY: Oxford, 1981): *Paradiso*, notes and commentary to xvii, pp.250-253.

90. Höfler, Cangrande 101. Höfler gives as his sources books on heraldry.

91. Ibid. 102. The Guelphs themselves, Dante's sometime party, are, of course, welfs, i.e. whelps!

92. "A breed of dog which herdsmen keep as guardians for their cattle." Tomaseo-Bellini, *Dizion. della lingua ital.* III, 140f., quoted in Cangrande 102, "with citations from Dante and Boccaccio," of which Höfler cites "due grandissimi e fieri mastini," "two enormous and savage mastiffs."

and his grandson Canfrancesco "carry the dog symbol on in their names to the end of Scaligeri rule."[93]

The famous Scaligeri tombs are replete with dog symbols. While the monument of Mastino I shows only the ladder (Scala), that of Cangrande I shows crowned dogs holding up the coat-of-arms and the great man himself wearing a helmet topped by a dog's head[94]. Mastino II wears the same kind of helmet, which also decorates the gable-ends of his monument and the four entrances of Cansignorio's tomb, as well as Scaligeri coins[95]. Plainly, to this family, the dog was a revered symbol. The explanation for both the symbol and the names, which some might find risible, is to be found in the Langobard ancestry of the Scaligeri[96].

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93. Höfler, Cangrande 103.

94. Cf. Paulus' *cynocephali,* and also the boar-helmets of the *Beowulf.* The photographs of the monuments of Cangrande I and Mastino II which accompany Höfler's article are too blurred, but a picture of a 16th century bear-head helmet (Tafel 14) suggests what the dog-head might have looked like.

95. Höfler, Cangrande 104.

96. "It must be kept in mind that in the 13th and 14th centuries, certain names, admittedly uncouth, which, when they are heard nowadays evoke laughter or wonder but back then were heard quietly enough, were prevalent even among the very princes of Italy. Of this sort were the 'Dogs' and 'Mastiffs' among the ruling Scaligeri family of Verona." Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae medii aevi* (1740), quoted in Cangrande p.102, n6, trans. mine. Cane as a name or name-element was by no means as rare as this passage would suggest. Höfler gives a long list (n.31, p107f) of names and by-names from the 12th to the 14th century of men outside the family della Scala; these names are attested

The dog's-head helmet is the metallic descendant of the actual dogs' heads the early Langobard *cynocephali* must have worn, a kin to the original κυνέη and to Romulus' wolf-head helmet[97], while the dog itself of course goes back to the tribe's perception of its very origin. The dog's head atop the helmet, then, far from being mere decoration, must be understood as "Wesensteil, Wesenszeichen, das will sagen--als echtes Symbol." [98]

8.3.2. Germanic wolf-names.

In his 1965 dissertation on *Wolf Dieterich A*, Kurt Abels makes a convincing case for a *Wolfskriegertum* among the Langobards, alongside the dog-warriors[99]. There is no question that wolf names predominate

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overwhelmingly in north Italy, i.e. Lombardy itself or where Langobard influence was strongest.

97. And Herakles' lion-skin, which he wears with his face peering through the open jaws, just as Romulus is shown in his wolf-skin.

98. Cangrande 124.

99. *Germanische Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte im Ambraser Wolf Dietrich*, Freiburg i. Br. Quite serendipetously I came across a 1972 dissertation from Bonn on the subject of names of important people in the Langobard kingdom, 568-774. I confess I was not tempted to study the thing closely, but a swift perusal was enough to show that there were a goodly number of the typical X-wolf names, most in a state of at least partial latinization, such as two abbots from the 7th century named Bertulfus and someone named Guerulfus! There are many bear-names: many men named Ursus and not a few women named Ursa, which suggest that they are translations of inherited Langobard names. To return to wolves: there are several men named Gisulf or Gisulfus, the name of the first duke of Friuli, a nephew of Alboin, and in fact it is

over dog names in Germania and indeed in Indo-Germania. There are two basic types, which Schramm categorizes as "Der Maskenträger" and "Der Mann als Tier." The first is the *Wolfhetan* type, in which the first element is the animal name, the second indicating the *Vermummung*. The OIc form is *Úlfheðinn*; obviously this was an appellative, the designation of a cultic warrior, which became a proper name; as a name it is attested in Iceland since the tenth century, in Norway since the thirteenth. Corresponding West Germanic forms (fränkisch-oberdeutsch), *Wolfhetan, Wolfhetin, Wolfetin*, are attested from the eighth century[100]. *Heðinn* indicated a short, hooded cloak of fur--"keine Fellbekleidung im gewöhnlichen Sinne, sondern Kopf und Rumpf verhüllende Masken."[101]

Heðinn is "one of the few Gmc. PNs which originated in by-names,"[102] according to Helmut Rosenfeld, who takes it as primary;

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precisely in Friuli that wolf-names abound. Gisulf, Abels explains, must be a cultic name: des Wolfes Geisel. I cannot go into Abels thesis here, but to spare undue suspense: the Überlieferung is Langobardic.

100. See Müller, Wolfhetan 201. "Der hiervon kaum zu trennende Name *Ulphetan* aus dem liber confraternitatum des Klosters Reichenau dürfte langobardischer Herkunft sein."

101. Müller, Wolfhetan 200. See J.de Vries, WB 215. "Falks Erklärung (NVS 1919, 190) aus *haðna* ist sehr einleuchtend, würde aber voraussetzen, daß dieses Wort auch den Westgermanen bekannt war, obgleich wir dorther nur Formen mit einem *l*-Suffix kennen." Derivation from *haðna*, goat, would be exciting indeed: our wolf-goat connection once again! And, as we have seen, "wolves" very often wore goat-skins.

102. "...wie *Karl* 'Mann' und *Ernust* 'Kampf.'" "Die Namen der Heldendichtung," *BNF* NF 1 (1966) 254-257.

others take *Úlfheðinn* as primary, *Heðinn* as a short form. On the pattern of *Úlfheðinn* are formed *Biarnheðinn, Skarpheðinn*, cf. Franc. *Gundhetan*, Bav. *Mardhetin*; in the High German area the synonymous *Wolfhroc, Wolfhroch*, and the like are attested also from the eighth century, and then *Hrocholf*, corresponding to *Hedenulf*[103].

The second type, with the animal name in second position, is more common among the Indo-Europeans, and among the animals. Schramm cites as examples Gk. *Αὐτόλυκος, Ἐπίλυκος, Ἑρμόλυκος*, Serb. *Milovuk, Dobrovuk*, WGot. *Athaulfus*, RNor. *Haþuwolᵃfʀ*. Animal names became *heiti*: thus *jöfurr*, boar, = prince, *úlfr* = warrior. It was "living poetic usage to equate man and wolf, as the warrior-kennings show which have -wolf as the second element, *gûð-, hilde-, wîg-, heoru-, wael-*, etc. as the first." Thus the Istaby Stone (7th C.; =Krause 41) was erected for *Hariwulᵃfa* by *Haþuwulᵃfʀ Haeruwulᵃfiʀ* (= H's son). These are literally "*Her*-wolf," "Battle-wolf," "Sword-wolf," "since these compounds correspond completely with OE *hildewulf* and *heoruwulf*. Finally Procopius reports of an Ostrogoth *Γουνδοὺλφ, ὅσπερ...τινες δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰλδοὺλφ ἐκάλουν*."[104]

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103. hrôc = "ein aus Tierfell gefertigtes Kleidungsstück," "kurzer Rock." Müller, Wolfhetan 201ff, where myriad examples of these names can be found. See also Schramm 74-77.

104. Schramm 77f. "Ein solcher Zweitname, der nicht als Kosename oder als charakterisierender Beiname zu deuten ist, dürfte für einen Germanen ganz ungewöhnlich sein. Offenbar liegt hier ein Spiel zwischen zwei gleichbedeutenden Mannkenningar--ae. *gûðwulf* und *hildewulf*--vor." 79

On the other hand, "dog" as the base-word of a man's name was not common among the Germans, as it was among the Celts, and Schramm thinks that when it occurred it was a *Tabubezeichnung* for wolf. Schramm cites the name *WiduhudaR* on the Fibel from Himlingøje, c.200 (=Krause 37), in OIc. terms **Viðhundr*, "forest dog." Jordanes' legendary Gothic hero *Vidigoia*, and the same name attested for a fourth century Alemannic king in Ammianus as *Vidigabius*, is the "forest barker" (**-gauja*, **-gaujis*, = OIc. *geyja*, "bark," used principally of the wolf), certainly a kenning for wolf[105].

8.3.3. Irish dog and wolf names.

Anne Ross notes the frequency of the "dog" element in names of early insular Celts. In British tradition, for example, we find *Cunobelinus*, "Dog-Belinus"; "in early Welsh, *Cynhaval*, 'Like a Hound', or *Cynon*, 'Great or Divine Hound'"[106]. In early Ireland "the hound was the symbol of warrior values *par excellence*"[107] This fact explains "the popularity of the element *Cú* in the names of king-heroes and of historical kings expected to manifest prowess in war as one of the basic qualifications of kingship." The great hero Cú Chulainn is the most

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105. Schramm 83. Cf. "outside dog," "der nicht im Hause lebende Hund," 3.2.3 above. Since the early Germans do not seem to have been the least bit hesitant to name the wolf, might not all these "dog" circumlocutions be kennings?

106. Anne Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) 340.

107. McCone, Hounds 13.

famous example, but the genealogies are full of these names. "For instance, the index of the *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* lists about eighty names of this formation, some like Cú-allaid, Cú cen Máthair, Cú Ulad etc. being attested with several different figures and a few, such as the almost incredible Cú-chon mac Cind-fáelad 'Hound's hound son of Wolf's head', laying on the canine (or lupine) associations with a veritable trowel."[108]

As one would expect, the Fenian tradition abounds in dog-names. Cumall (Finn's father) is one. Another is Conchenn, the name of the father of Finn's fosterer, Fíacail mac Conchinn, which means Dog-Head[109]. A famous Fenian hero "who in some ways is a multiform of the figure of Finn himself" is Conán (Little Dog) mac Morna. With the same diminutive formant on one of the words for wolf, *faél*, is the name Fáelán, Little Wolf, of one of Finn's sons and of a son of Finn's companion Cailte; there is a fénnid by this name in the *Tripartite Life* of

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108. Ib.12. "The dynastic Nuadu has a son Cú Oiss ('Stag-hound') ..." Carey, Nodons 21.

109. "In an Old Irish poem the Ulster hero Cú Chulainn...is described as a *cumall*, a word which is glossed *cú* by the scribe... Conaire's dog in the *Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel* is called *Os(s)ar cumall*...Even if we assume that the name of Finn's father was originally *Umall*...it is significant that the name becomes what may have been an archaic or poetic word for dog. It is perhaps not inappropriate to mention in this context that the rare Baiscenn/ Baiscne, which occurs as the name of Finn's grandfather/ ancestor (as in Finn úa Baiscne), also occurs as the name of Medb's whelp, which figures briefly in the *Cattle Raid*..." Nagy 243f., n19.

Saint Patrick[110].

Faél probably meant "howler" originally (cf. "forest barker"). The other expressions for wolf were *cú allaid* ("wild dog," cf. "der nicht im Hause lebende Hund," above) and *mac tíre* ("son of the land"). The IE word for wolf, **wl̥k^{w}os*, has no "secure attestations" in Celtic; yet it seems to have survived into Old Irish in some PNN as *olc*. *Olc* is not what one would expect as the Irish outcome of **wl̥k^{w}os/*lúk^{w}os* and becomes possible only "if this can be plausibly transformed into **ulk^{w}os* at some intermediate stage in the prehistory of Irish...Ó Cathasaigh has submitted the whole *Olc* question to the most thorough scrutiny to date...and tentatively upholds the 'wolf' connection by suggesting a remodelling dictated by taboo. Ó Cathasaigh has greatly advanced the semantic case by stressing the canine or lupine associations of two mythical bearers of the name in early Irish literature, namely Olc Aiche and Olc Aí, whom he ascribes to 'a widespread class of canine guardians of the Otherworld'."[111]

The semantic argument is bolstered by the story of the birth of Saint Olcán in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Olcán was born in a cairn after his mother had died and been interred. The king and Patrick

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110. "The seemingly canine nature of fénnidi, especially Fenian ones, is an expression of their martial identity." Nagy 44. Examples of Welsh PNN from *blaidd*, 'wolf' are Bleidic, Bleddyn, Bleddri, Bleiddudd (Ross, *Britain* 342).

111. McCone, Olc 171f.

heard his screams and dug him out. "'That is bad (*olc sin*)!' said the king. 'That shall be his name', said the druid, 'Olcán', and Patrick baptized him...Olcán is, of course, a diminutive of Olc, attested in an earlier form as the genitive *Ulccagni* on an ogam inscription and so on, and we might suppose that the labio-velar often still distinguished as *q(q)* in ogam had been precociously dissimilated to a plain velar in the vicinity of *u* rather as happened in Greek independently. Since this story of a posthumous birth in a carn finds a striking parallel in the account given by the saga *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair* of the birth of the three great mythical hound guardians of Otherworld hospitallers in Irish tradition, namely Mac Da Thó's Ailbe, Culann's Hound and Celtchar's Daél-chú, it seems distinctly probable that Saint Olcán is a Christianized version of such a hound guardian like Saint Ailbe of Emly...[who bears the same name as Mac Da Thó's hound and has a father named Ol-chú 'great dog[112]]...[L]arge savage hounds of this type...were the archetypal embodiments of the martial ethos, and served as mascot to...[the] warriors known as *dîberga* or *féindidi*...Not surprisingly, hound and wolf were closely associated in this symbolism..."[113]

McCone suggests that the wolf-term *mac tíre* may originally have referred to the féindidi warriors, "who lived off the land during the summer season at least, as it clearly does in the case of the seven *meic*

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112. McCone, Hounds 14 n42. St. Ailbe was suckled by a she-wolf (a "juxtaposition of canine and lupine associations").

113. McCone, Olc.172f.

thíri serving as hostages for the preservation of the king's peace at BDD[2] ll 603-5, and then have been transferred to the wolf mascot associated with them." Then, "if *mac tíre* could refer to both wolf and vagabond warrior, *olc* could perfectly well have developed a similar range..."[114]

The semantics are tempting, and McCone turns next to the phonetic side of the problem, in the hopes of finding a better solution than earlier suggestions of taboo-deformation or borrowing from Illyrian. He posits "an early metathesis, prior to or in association with the vocalization of syllabic liquids to *li, ri* or *al, ar* in Celtic, of syllabicity in groups of *w-* plus syllabic liquid to give *u-* plus consonantal liquid. As a result **wl̥k^{w}os* would become **ulk^{w}os* (later dissimulated to **ulkos*), whence *olc,* gen. *uilc* without the slightest difficulty."[115]

The **luk^{w}os* variant seems to have left traces as well. Saint Mochtae of Louth found a young boy alone, named him "Luchar," and educated him until he was made a bishop and sent out to establish a church: "'build a church for yourself in that place between mountain and sea where a wolf (*lupus*), laying aside its ferocity, shall approach you gently'"--concerning which McCone remarks, "Although the calming of wolves was a hagiographical commonplace in the Irish Lives, the same cannot be said of the involvement of a wolf in the founding of a church.

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114. McCone, Olc 172f.

115. McCone gives further examples to show that his hypothesis is "to be considered more than ad hoc." The best is OIr. *olann*, wool, from IE **wlHneH$_2$*, which "offers serious support for a derivation of OIr *olc* < **wl̥k^{w}os*, however obscure the precise details may be." 175

Accordingly Luchar's connection with the wolf in this abbreviated narrative is almost certainly significant and may well be a pagan mythological survival. Perhaps Luchar, like Saint Ailbe of Emly...was supposed to have been brought up by wolves...it can hardly be a coincidence that Luchar's name and lupine association in the story converge... Likewise the man responsible for taking Ailbe from the wolf...and then giving him to a British family to be brought up is called Lochán, which seems likely to be < **Lukagnos* just like Olcán < **Ulkagnos*...through precocious dissimilation of k^w to *k* in the vicinity of *u*."[116]

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116. 175. The reader will be reminded, in the case of Luchar, of the Sabine colony-founding legends, in which the wolf, or another of Mars' animals, shows the wanderers the place ordained for them; and in the case of Ailbe, of the wolf/dog nurturers and the foster-fathers of Romulus and Remus and of Cyrus, married to the wolf or dog, and taking their names from the wolf-god (Faustulus--Faunus, son of Mars) or the Männerbund god (Mithradates--Mithra).

Another candidate is the *Luch-donn*, "a huge and savage hound found in the wild and nurtured by a widow, whom it subsequently killed along with her stock before running wild and wreaking havoc in Ulster from a remote lair. Meyer's translation 'Dun Mouse' is hardly the most apposite imaginable, and a stereotype meaning (at least originally) something like 'wolf-brown' (*-donn*) or rather 'wolf-skin' (*t(h)onn*), precisely analogous to Old Norse *ulf-heðinn* ...would seem far more appropriate. Moreover, *DIL* points to further instances, some with minor spelling variations and most with martial connotations eminently compatible with lupine or canine symbolism..." 175.

"It is true that *Loch-án, Luch-* poses tricky problems (unless, perhaps, it had become a *u*-stem) regarding the precise circumstances in which *u* was liable to lowering over *ch* < $*k^w$, but then so does *luch*, gen. *lochad* 'mouse' from an undoubted **lukot-* stem as *GOI* 206 points out. Certainly there is no alternative to original *u* vocalism that would not make the phonetic problem far worse." 176

8.3.4. Greek heroes with wolf-names.[117]

Lykos.

i. Son of Pandion, founder of the cult of Apollo Lykeios at Athens. "The Lykeion...is near the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges ('White Dog' or 'Swift Dog') and not far from Alopekai ('Vixens'). ...this Lykos, and the other twenty odd heros of the same name, are reflexes of the wider context of Apollo's divine nature expressed in the wolf-epithet." He is "known in the sources as the ancestor of the family of the Lykomidai, a race of priests and prophets, as the founder of Lykia in Asia Minor when he was exiled from Athens, and as the restorer of the mysteries of Andania, in Messenia." (69)

ii. A Lykos (Lykôros) was "an attacker of the temple site [at Delphi], who tried, during the First Sacred War in the early sixth century, to steal the tripod of Apollo ... but was stoned to death during the attempt." (69)

iii. "A third Lykos is the king of Thebes, father or uncle of Megara, the wife of Herakles, whom Herakles killed upon his return from Hades... He is to be viewed in the context of Herakles' slaying of another wolf-hero, Lykaon..." (70).

iv. "There is another Lykos, king of Thebes, the husband of Dirke, who so sorely persecuted Antiopê, the mother of the famous twins Amphion and Zethos...a pair that since antiquity has been considered a double of ... the Dioskoroi, and also the daughter-in-law of one of twins, and *is* somehow related to a figure that bears the wolf-name." (Daughter of a Lykurgos, wife of a Lykos or a Lykurgos.) (70f) Twins are frequently

117. This list, and the comments, follows Gershenson, Apollo 67-77.

associated with the wolf or the wolf-name (72) and also with the Männerbünde[118].

v. Lykos son of Daskylos, son of Tantalos, and maternal grandson of the river Lykos, is the king of the Mariandynoi who received the Argonauts and joined in their mourning for the seer Idmon. The land of Lykos and the Mariandynoi had myriad connections with death (72).

vi. Lykos king of Libya, who sacrificed strangers to his father Ares. "[T]he theme of human sacrifice...[is] part of the wider context of the wolf-name." (73)

Autolykos. Son of Hermes and maternal grandfather of Odysseus and wrestling-teacher of Herakles. He lived on Parnassos, Apollo's holy mountain.

Harpalykos.

i. An "avatar of Autolykos," he was also a son of Hermes and martial-arts teacher of Herakles and at home in the vicinity of Parnassos. "Here we see 'the very wolf' alternating with the 'ravenous wolf'...." He had a daughter, Harpalyke. "The various versions of the story of Harpalyke are noteworthy for manifesting the connection between the wolf-name and death, ...as well as the connection between the wolf-name and swiftness..." (73f).

ii. King of a Thracian tribe and father of an "armored...maiden Harpalyce who could outrun steeds," according to Vergil, *Aen.* I, 316ff. (74).

Lykaon.

i. Son of Pelasgos and founder of the town of Lykosura (Wolf's tail) on

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118. Wagner, Dioskoroi *passim.*

Mt. Lykaion and of the sanctuary and games of Zeus Lykaios. He sacrificed a human baby to Zeus (Pausanias) or served one of his children for dinner at a surprise visit by the gods (Pliny), and was punished by being turned into a wolf. Ever since, at the festival of Zeus Lykaios, one of Lykaon's descendants becomes a wolf: he hangs his clothes upon a tree and swims across a lake, emerging as a wolf. A wolf he remains for nine years; then, if he has refrained from eating human flesh, he can swim back across the lake, don his clothes, and be a man again.[119] (75)

ii. "Another heroic figure named Lykaon is the son of Priam killed by Achilles after having been sold by him once into slavery across the sea. [*Il.*XXI, 34ff.] He evinces traits...associated with the wolf-name, having been shipped over the sea and returning quite beyond expectation, traits that recall the connection of the wolf with shifting frontiers, visiting from one world to another, and reappearing or remanifestation after an absence or disappearance."[120] (75).

Lykomedes.

i. Athenian, ancestor of the Lykomidai.

ii. King of Skyros in the Theseus story[121].

iii. "Another Lykomedes, this one from the island of Samos, appears in the genealogy of the island deriving from the ancient epic poet Asios of

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119. For all the particulars and implications of this most famous of werewolf stories see Jeanmaire, *Couroi et Courètes*, 562.

120. See below, 9.5, n34. This feature, I am convinced, is what is behind the comings and goings of the wolf-god Odin.

121. Jeanmaire 328.

Samos. 'Lykomedes is perhaps the mythical progenitor of a Samian family,' writes G.L.Huxley..." (76).

Lykoreus. "Lykoreus or Lykoros was the son of Apollo and the nymph Korykia...The town on the Korykian heights of Parnassos above Delphi was named Lykoreia after him." (76)

Lykurgos.

i. Thracian king, son of Dryas, persecutor of the child Dionysos, for which he was punished by blindness[122]. "If his name brings us into the sphere of Apollo, his deeds and his father's name [δρῦς, 'tree'] connect him with Dionysos, who under the epithet Dendrites was the god of trees." (76)

ii. "[T]he son of Boreas, the North Wind, and step-brother of Butês, who was the ancestor of the ancient Athenian noble clan of the Eteobutadai, in an ancient Athenian version of the story of Butes. In another version of the story he is the son of Poseidon." In the Athenian version we have a story of piracy, colonisation, and bride-stealing. Lykurgos and Butes come to grief when they attack a party of maenads. "A similar story seems to lie at the root of the version where Butês the son of Lykurgos avenges himself on the maenads for his father's death. In this version we find another Lykurgos who is the enemy of Dionysos and the maenads, and is in a Poseidonian context; for the Eteobutadai, among whom Lykurgos was a common name, held the ancient priesthood of Poseidon in the Erechtheion, while their wives were the priestesses of Athena Polias." (77)

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122. Jeanmaire 576.

iii. The legendary one-eyed law-giver of Sparta, whose connections with age-sets and initiations need hardly be stressed[123].

iv. *Myrioi*, both mythical and flesh and blood. The name Λυκουργός is λύκος "wolf" and ἔργον "work" n. or *ἔργω "work" vb. The name is so pervasive that it must have had cultic significance. It is hard not to think of McCone's translation of OIr *oc faelad* as "bei wölfischer Tätigkeit"[124]. Dare one say of the name Lykourgos "daß sein Träger gewöhnt war, sich der Wolfsucht (*fri faelad*) zuzuwenden"?

Oiolykos. "The name Oiolykos means 'lone wolf.'" As Herodotos tells it, O's father Theras led a party which sailed out from Lacedaemon to form a colony on Calliste, thereafter Thera. "But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father therefore said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the stripling got the nickname of Oeolykos, and it so fell out that this became his customary name." (IV, 149; Loeb 351) An anti-colonizer? There is something a bit odd here: "lone sheep" would be more apposite[125].

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123. See Jeanmaire 582, 587.

124. McCone, Hund 105.

125. A.D.Godley, the Loeb translator, glosses "Literally 'sheep-wolf'"; appropriate enough, but no one seems to have taken him up on it. Gershenson: "Among the Dorian colonists of the island of Thera...there appears a certain Oiolykos, son of Theras ('the beast') and father of Aigeus [Hdt.4, 149]. This story shows the wolf-figure as the head of a band of settlers who must have formed a warrior-confraternity of the well-known sort." (77) I am as eager to find wolf-colonizers as anyone, but unfortunately the point of the anecdote is that Oiolykos did not go off with the colonizing party.

8.3.5. Wolf- and dog-men of the Scythians.

In the Scytho-Sakian languages are found the PNs *Οὔργιος*, *Οὐργάδακος*, which go back to the Avestan wolf-word *vəhrka-*[126].

The 'annals' of Esarhaddon tell of the defeat of the army of the Scythian king Ispakaja, c.680/679 - 677/676 BC. "This name *Ispaka(ja)* has a very clear etymology and must have as its actual form **Spaka* or **Spakāya* (Iranian 'dog, canine'); the initial 'i'is a prothetic sound added to avoid beginning a word with a double consonant, which the Akkadian language cannot do." An analogous name *Σπάκος* is found in an inscription of Olbia (IOSPE, I, no.133); cf Cyrus' nurse *Σπάκω* (above 8.2.2)[127]

8.3.6. Serbian wolf-men.

Vuk "wolf" "has been a current Serbian personal name since the early Middle Ages"[128], and X-vuk compounds are also common. Schramm listed *Milovuk* and *Dobrovuk*, corresponding to the type of *Αὐτόλυκος*, WGot. *Athaulfus*, and the like (8.3.2&3). The hero Vuk Grgurovic has been called *Ognjen Vuk*, "fiery wolf," *Zmaj despote Vuce* (voc?) "Dragon despot Wolf," *Zmaj i Vuk Ognjeni* "Dragon and Fiery Wolf;" "in the songs recorded during the last century, the hero's current name has been *Zmaj Ognjeni* (or *Ognjen) Vuk (*or *Vuce)* 'Fiery Dragon Wolf."[129] The

126. Ivančik 316. 127. Ib.326f.

128. Roman Jacobson & Gojko Ruzicic, "The Serbian Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk and the Russian Vseslav Epos." *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoires Orientales et Slavs* X (1950) 344.

129. Ib.344.

signs present at his birth "are considered omens of a werewolf and also of a miraculous and lucky warrior." The songs all show him as both: "the werewolf and the prodigious warrior."[130]

Related are "three Russian narratives–the folk *bylina* about Volx (i.e. 'magician') Vseslav'evic, the fascinating Vseslav digression in the *Igor's Tale*, and the epically colored report of the *Primary Chronicle* about the life of Prince Vseslav of Polock. The sources of all these go back to an oral epos glorifying the famous ruler who fired the imagination of his Russian contemporaries by his valiant and dramatic adventures.

"This epos, in turn, proved to be an application and adaption of an ancient Slavic werewolf myth to an actual personage."[131] "Some motifs of the saga of the prince-werewolf as it can be reconstructed on the basis of the Vseslav epos are purposely omitted or reshaped in the Vuk cycle, but on the other hand, certain motifs are actually better preserved by the Serbian tradition. And a surmise suggests itself: perhaps even in the common Slavic prototype of the epic story, *Vuk (*Vilku)* already belonged to the name of the hero. In this case *Volx* ('magician') of the Russian *bylina* would be a substitute for *Volk* ('wolf') due to a semantic reinterpretation."[132]

8.4. Κυνοκέφαλοι.

We have seen the Langobard cynocephali, as well as the dog-head helmets on the statues of the Scaligeri lords, and have remarked that these surely go back to a time before protective armor, when the warrior, or at

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30. Jacobson 345. 31. Ib. 343. 132. Ib. 355.

least the koryos-warrior, wore a real animal-skin, the head over his own head, his face peering through the open jaws; we have ample illustrations of how it was worn in Hades in his *κυνέη*, Romulus in his wolf-skin, and Heracles in his lion-skin. European folk-lore is replete with dog-headed men, and although the connection with the cultic warrior tradition has often been lost, there should be no doubt that all these reports go back to cultic warriors like those of the Langobards.

a) "Zu den litauischen Werwölfen."

The antecedents of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Lithuanian werewolves with whom Höfler closes *KGG* can be found in the early fourteenth century verse-romance "Wilhelm von Österreich" by Johann von Würzburg: Wilhelm, a.k.a. Ryal, and the Sulton of Maroch were laying siege to the citadel of Smyrna. The enemy king sent his marshall out into the whole wide world to advertise for auxiliaries:

7670: von allen richen mit dir nim
allez daz du maht erwegen!

Auxiliaries come from all over, including King Senebor of Cappadocia, who

rust da mit wilder diet
7770 mit den er do von lande schiet:
rysen, luet an zungen,
manigem Litschen jungen
die hundes haupt do truogen,
die stachen noch ensluogen,
7775 ir wer was mit geschuetz:
an strite was so nuetz
nieman in den richen da.

Helmut Birkhan suggests altering *rysen* "giants," here and elsewhere in

the text, to *ruzen*, who "live between Bulgaria and Nifland, which borders on the Eastmark with its capitol, Vienna...So Senebor draws his auxiliaries from the north (the *Ruzen* are Ruthenians or Russians)" and the dog-headed *Litschen jungen* will be a Lithuanian Jungmannschaft[133].

b) Slavic dog-heads.

No Slavic tribe or group called itself "Wolves" or anything similar. There were indeed reports of *κυνοκέφαλοι - pesoglavci - pasoglavi*, predominantly among the south Slavs, but this is not what they called

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133. Roughly: Bring with you from every kingdom everyone you can rouse up!...[Senebor] stops there with a wild bunch with whom he left his land: giants/Russians, of little speech [i.e. mute], many Lithuanian youths who wore the dog's head, who stabbed and at the same time struck. They were really something with weapons! No one in the kingdoms thereabout was so handy in a fight.
"In den *rysen* möchte ich die auch anderwärts...in dem Roman als Hilfsvölker bald der einen bald der anderen Seite erwähnten *Ruzen* sehen. Sie werden *ungehuer* genannt (498) und wohnen zwischen Bulgarien und Nifland, das an die Ostermark mit der Hauptstadt Wien grenzt. Wenn ich die *rysen* der Hss. in *Ruzen* ändere, so vor allem auch deshalb, weil deren Stummheit (*luet an zungen*) zu der Vorstellung von Riesen nicht paßt, hingegen eine mißverstehende Uminterpretation der gemeinslav. Bezeichnung für die Deutschen urslaw. **nemьcь*, aruss. *nemьcь*, mgriech. Νεμίτοι, eigentlich 'die Stummen; die nicht reden können' sein wird. Senebor bezieht also seine Hilfstruppen aus dem Norden (die *Ruzen* sind Ruthenen oder Russen), die Vermutung E. Regels, daß die hundsköpfigen *Litschen jungen* (eine Jungmannschaft der) Litauer seien, scheint daher auch im Hinblick auf die *rysen* (die er offenbar für 'Riesen' hielt) gerechtfertigt." "Altgermanische Miszellen 'aus fünfzehn Zettelkästen gezogen'" in *Festgabe für Otto Höfler zum 75. Geburtstag*, H.B. Hrsg. (Wien/Stuttgart: Braumüller, 1976) 36f. The passage is quoted from this article.
(I am not thrilled with *luet* for *lütze, lüz* "little," but the vowel is wrong for *liut, liute, lût* "loud," and Birkhan's explanation makes sense.)

themselves; these were "Schreckensnamen" applied by those whom they threatened or terrorized[134]. In Slovenia there was a dog-headed, man-eating Pesjoglavec. "He was one-eyed, from the chest up totally covered with hair, and lived in a cave in the woods. Seven brothers force their way into his cave; they see a trough with a butcherknife, point upwards, stuck fast in it. The Pesjoglavec appears, grabs three of the brothers, and lets their blood run into the trough, whereupon he slurps it up. The others shove him from behind onto the upright knife, so that he pokes out his eye." This story owes something to the Polyphemos tale[135]. Adam of Bremen mentions *cinocephali*, among other strange beings, in his *Descriptio insularum Aquilonis*. He thinks they are the male offspring of the Amazons of the Baltic Sea. They can often be seen as captives in Russia. "They wear their head on their chest and are not able to speak, but only to bark."[136] Kretzenbacher thinks these beings must ultimately go back to the same violent bands of masked youths we have seen elsewhere, which have become the spooks and monsters of folktales. There are no early sources on Slavic paganism, he laments. The earliest are from the high middle ages; these are sparse and are the reports of foreigners. Saxo's invaluable first-hand account of the three hundred knights at the shrine of Svantevit at Arkona shows that there were

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134. Kretzenbacher 109.

135. Anton von Avanzin, "Hundemenschen und Hundekönig," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 59 (1956) 143.

136. Kretzenbacher 110.

ecstatic warrior brotherhoods also among the Slavs[137].

In regard to the Pesoglavci's inability to speak, Steindorff's observations concerning "Wölfisches Heulen" are suggestive. The "wolf's howl" was both war-cry and victory-shout of certain Slavic warriors. From a negative perspective--and in all Christian sources the wolf is viewed negatively and the use of the wolf's howl is seen as heathen barbarism--"'howling like a wolf' means as much as 'not to speak like a human being, not to be a part of the speaking community'"[138]. A sixth century A.D. Greek source, the anonymous *Erotapokriseis*, one of the earliest texts to mention "Slavs," says of them, "Like wolves howling they call back and forth to each other." This could be a Greek-speaker's impression of Slavic speech, but if we recall Sigmund and Sinfjötli howling back and forth in their werewolf days we might be inclined to think these were the cultic cries of a warrior brotherhood[139].

Since we believe that the original *κυνοκέφαλοι* were youths wearing actual dog- or wolf-heads as a head-covering--a belief which finds confirmation not only in the dog-head helmets of the Scaligeri but also in the use of the word *κυνέη* for helmet, even when it was made of bronze--the *vucetina* or wolf-skin cap of the Serbs suggests that the Slavs also had

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137. Kretzenbacher 110f.

138. Ludwig Steindorff, "Wölfisches Heulen. Ein Motiv in mittelalterlichen slavischen Quellen." *Byzantinoslavica* 46 (1985) 48.

139. Does the *talamaske* fit in here? Hochdeutsch, <*dahlen*, "dummes Zeug reden" (3.4 n32). The wolf/dog-hooded youth who doesn't speak, but only howls or barks?

their werewolf bands. "In many Serbian heroic songs it is mentioned that the hero, before he goes into battle, puts on a wolfskin cap made from two or three wolves."[140] A hat would hardly require the skins of two or three wolves; one is inclined to think of a wolf-skin mantle (*Úlf-heðinn*).

c) Survivals of the *κυνέη/ λυκέη*.

Polybius (VI, 22) reports that in the Roman army in the second century BC the youngest soldiers, the lightly armed *Velites*, wear a helmet without a crest (*galea*) "which he sometimes covers with a piece of wolf's skin or something of that kind, for the sake both of protection and identification"[141]; while the standard-bearers, buglers, and trumpeters, whose headdress, because their military function was psychological, kept something of its old religious value, continued to wear the beast-head into imperial times. In the first century BC, Faustus Sulla had his image imprinted on his denarii wearing the Romulan wolf-jaws[142].

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140. Gabriella Schubert, "Kopfbedeckung als Statussymbole," *Central Asiatic Journal* 30 (1986) 97. "The cap...is the hero's personal protector ...In view of this magic-apotropaic, protective function of the head-covering it is easy to understand that it can also represent and stand in for the whole person."

141. Shuckburgh 477.

142. Alföldi, Struktur 81. "Vegetius (2,16) spricht vom Bärenfell der *signiferi*, und auf einem traianischen Relief am Konstantinsbogen sieht man einen *tubicen* im Bärenfell, während der *cornicen* die Wolfskappe trägt. Leider ist es für uns unmöglich, die nationale Identität der Truppe des römischen Heeres zu ermitteln, die auf der Trajanssäule Wolfsrachen trägt...Jedenfalls wußten noch die augusteischen Dichter sehr gut, daß in alter Zeit die Krieger mit solchen ausgerüstet waren." (81f)

8.5. Ἀλκιμώτατοι κύνες.

Polyaenus attributed the victory of the Lydian king Alyattes over the Cimmerians in part to the "very valiant dogs," ἀλκιμωτάτους κύνας, which formed a part of the Lydian forces: they killed many of the horrid beastly Cimmerians and put the rest to shameful flight[143]. Ivancik traces Polyaenus' sources and ties his account to others concerning invasions and expulsions during that busy period in the seventh century BC. An amphoric seal from Sinope shows a man repulsing a pair of attacking dogs; the founding of Sinope in 631 is directly connected with the expulsion of the Cimmerians[144]. Claudius Aelianus tells of how the Magnesians vanquished the Ephesians by using hunting dogs[145], but Strabo and his sources have the Cimmerians in the place of Aelian's Ephesians. The hellenistic writers had no certain traditions concerning Magnesia, just folkloric tales in which the names of the parties could easily be exchanged. It is therefore possible that the Cimmerians were the original villains[146] and that this is an independent witness to the defeat of the Cimmerians by warrior-dogs.

Now there is no contemporary evidence of the actual use of dogs

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143. (VII, 2,1) Polyaenus wrote in the second half of the second century AD. Herodotos (I,16) tells that Alyattes "expelled the Cimmerians from Asia" (de Sélincourt), without the detail about the dogs.

144. Ivančik 308.

145. (VH XIV, 46). Aelian is also second century AD.

146. Ivančik 309.

in war; the accounts are all late. Pollux writes that the Magnesians "trained dogs which served as auxiliaries in war; hunting dogs performed the same service for the Paeonians"[147]. Pliny praises the "cohorts of dogs," *cohortes canum*, of the Colophonians and Castabalenses, which "fought in the first ranks, never shirking; they were the most loyal auxiliaries" and didn't need to be paid[148]. Since all these peoples are in the general area of the conflict with the Cimmerians, these accounts could all go back to the same folklore of the expulsion of the Cimmerians by dogs.

But modern historians credit the Scythians with driving the Cimmerians out of Asia Minor. "The folkloric accounts of the expulsion of the Cimmerians from Asia could only be reflecting that event. In that case, 'les chiens audacieux' are substituted for the Scythians in these accounts. This hypothesis, which seems paradoxical at first sight, becomes a near certitude if one takes into account the rites of passage and men's societies (*Männerbünde*) among the Indo-Europeans."[149] Ivančik then goes on to summarize exactly what we have just been looking at.

Scythian grave monuments often portray the hunting and killing of a hare, which symbolizes military success; in these scenes, the warrior striking the hare is often replaced by a dog[150]. Further, on a mid-sixth

147. Onomasticon V, 47, second century AD; Ivančik 310.

148. NH VIII, 61, 143, first century AD; Ivančik 311.

149. Ivančik 311-312.

150. "An excellent analogy to this substitution is found in the depiction

century vase showing one of the earliest depictions of Scythian bowmen[151] there are, again, dogs hunting hares. The vase is actually showing a battle between two mounted armies, Scythian archers and Greeks armed with javelins; the dogs are under the horses' feet. Now as common as scenes with hunting dogs may be, they are rarely found as part of a battle scene. The combination places this vase in a restricted group of monuments from the sixth to the early fifth century. Pictures of dogs chasing hares are found only in scenes involving obviously non-Greek cavalry. One might explain these scenes as the influence of Scythian ideas. The Greeks who fought the Scythians and Cimmerians must have been struck by their enemies' practices, especially where the image of Scythian warriors was concerned. "It is not by chance that the rare scenes which bring together men fighting and dogs hunting are showing barbarian riders, often conspicuously Scytho-Cimmerian. That theme was diffused in precisely that part of the Greek world which had had direct contact with the Scythians and Cimmerians. It was nearly unknown in

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of a dog chasing a hare on the wall of the synagogue of Doura-Europos (a Sassanid drawing). It symbolizes the victory of the Sassasnid armies over the Romans and the dog is put at the same rank as the greatest Sassanid generals" (314). Cf. Hunting as a "symbol for battle:" "so sind auch die aus Vendel- und Wikingerzeit stammenden Totenmonumente mit Jagddarstellungen zu begreifen...," Beck, Stanzen 242.

151. "amphore étrusque n° 231 du Musée du Vatican...Ce vase a certainement été peint par un émigré ionien en Etrurie, qui a copié des modèles purement grecs ou, en tout cas, s'en est inspiré." Ivančik 314.

other parts of the Greek world."[152]

We have already seen the importance of the dog and wolf in the legends of the Ossetes, who are the direct descendants of the Scythians (8.3.1.b), and we know that the young men of the **koryos* "became" dogs or wolves when they went into battle. It was the Scythian **koryos* which the Greeks and others met, in other words, the valiant dogs! Ancient tradition is consistent on the point that "it was the men alone, and not all the people of the Scythians, who invaded Asia Minor. This tradition, which was already known from Herodotos (IV, 1), reflects the Scythians own traditions and bears witness that the military raids into Asia Minor were held to be the activity of warriors separated from their people and analogous to the Spartan cryptoi, the Celtic *fían* or the *mairyð* of the Avesta."[153]

Customs of the Ossetes will provide a paradigm for those of their ancestors. Among them a man became an adult only after he had performed three *balc*--"raid militaire, expédition"--which lasted respectively one, three, and seven years. "The first expedition of one year (*afæzbalc*) was at the same time a necessary condition for the passage from adolescence to adulthood, and every young man had to leave his wife on the third day after their marriage to participate in the expedition. At a more ancient epoch this expedition must have been a necessary condition for marriage. The troops for these expeditions (*bal*)

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152. Ivančik 315-16.

153. Ib. 318f; for the last, see below 11.2.1.1.2.4.

were formed during the springtime festival *Styr Tütyr* [St. Theodore of Tyre], devoted to the master of wolves and warriors; the fêtes coincided with the beginning of the *balc*, but the principal rites of initiation took place during the feast of *Wastyrgi* (8.3.1.b) in November. Moreover the month corresponding to October-November in the Old Persian calendar is called *Varkazana*, that is, 'the month of the wolf-men' [or simply 'wolves'], which once again proves the deep connections between Iranian rites of passage and wolves. This connection is clear again in a Nart legend according to which Soslan, during the military games, was able to defeat the young *Totras* (whose name is connected to that of the master of wolves) only after having donned a wolf-skin...

"The linguistic data also confirm the identification of the participants in the *balc* with wolves. They are often called *k'war, k'ord*: 'pack', but it is even more significant that, of all the animals, the word *bal* can be associated only with wolves (*bîrægty bal, ballon bîræg*)."[154]

The Byzantine lexicographer Photius recorded that the Elaeans called their ephebes "Scythians" ("Lex., *s.v. συνέφηβος: τοὺς δὲ ἐφηβοὺς Ἠλεῖοι μὲν Σκύθας καλοῦσιν*, cf. Hesych., *Σκύθραξ: μεῖραξ*,

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154. 319-320. Pompeius Trogus (Justinus II, 5) wrote of an eight-year Scythian expedition into Asia Minor; Herodotos (IV, 1) reported twenty-eight years. The Scythians who plundered Asia Minor were thus an early version of the Ossete *bal*: youthful warrriors who thought of themselves as dogs or wolves (322). Their protracted absence was the occasion of another of Herodotos' Scythian stories, ultimately a dog-story, which will occupy us in chapter 13.

ἔφηβος.")[155] Hesychios' *Lexicon* has the gloss σπάδακες: κύνες. "This word, which is known from Olbia in a form Σπάδακος as a personal name (cf. Σπαδάγας--Arrien, *Peripl.*, 15), is derived from the Iranian word *spāda*, 'army', well known in the Scythian tongue, and means 'warrior'. This gloss is comprehensible only if one relates it to the ideas of warrior-dogs and must refer, as is the usual case with Hesychius, to a precise literary text, which would also explain the form of the word (the plural). This gloss shows us exactly the moment when the primitive sense of the text became incomprehensible, and the Iranian (Scythian) designation of warriors is explained there, perhaps influenced by the context, by the word 'dogs'." The same thing must have happened in Polyaenus' source[156].

An Akkadian text asks, "Are they placing the valiant dog of evil in their midst (the Scythians)?" The interesting thing here is that the word *zibu* designating *canis*, whether *familiaris*, *lupus* or *aureus*, always carries the pejorative sense which "dog" has among the Semites, but it is linked in this text with the adjective *qardu*, "valiant," which has a strongly

155. Patriarch of Constantinople 857-867 and 871-886 AD. He was well-read in the classics. His Lexicon is "of special value in connexion with the Greek orators and historians" *DCA* 486.
The Elaeans were not the only ones to see a connection between Scythians and ephebes; "François Lissarrague has shown convincingly that in several instances of Attic vase iconography, pictures of the Scythian and the ephebe are the same and interchangeable" (321). The Scythian bands which the Greeks first met up with were those corresponding in age to the ephebes, and their tactics would only have reinforced the equation (322).

156. Ivančik 323.

positive sense and is used of gods and kings, often of warriors, rarely of an enemy. *Zibu qardu* should be an oxymoron, and it is interesting that it corresponds exactly to Polyaenus' ἀλκιμώτατοι κύνες; "both express the valor and might of the warrior."[157]

Plainly those who came into contact with the Scythian *koryos respected them as fighters and, comprehending or not, took up their image and their designation of themselves as dogs. Ivančik thinks it likely that Greek tradition, and in particular Polyaenus' account, went back to epic or heroic poetry of the Scythians, whence it had passed into Greco-Lydian folklore. "One can assume, too, that the bands of Scythian archers devastating Asia were only associations analogous to the Ossete *bal* and that they represented a survival of the Indo-European men's societies with their very own mythologies and ideologies"[158].

8.6. *Ver sacrum* bei den (Indo-)Germanen?

Karl Helm entitled a 1947 *PBB* article "Ver sacrum bei den Germanen?" as a question, and concluded, "eine direkte Parallele zum italischen Ver sacrum liegt nirgends vor."[159] Even the Greek *dekateusis*, we have seen, was not quite the same. Among the Germanic peoples there are several examples of a part of a tribe going off and eventually becoming a tribe in its own right. We looked at the *origo* myth of the Langobards and remarked that it looked something like a *ver sacrum*. In

157. Ivančik 324.

158. Ivančik 329.

159. *PBB* 69, 300.

this case we are told that a third of the tribe was chosen by lot. Concerning other tribes--Helm mentions the Goths, the Heruler, the Haruden, and the Warnen--we do not know whether the group which emigrated was the larger or smaller part[160]. In Italy itself a *ver sacrum* is really only surmised for the Hirpini, Picenti, and some others because of their names[161]; and it is even possible that the Sabines learned the custom from the pre-IE inhabitants of Italy[162].

If, however, with Wenskus, we look upon the Sabine *ver sacrum* as a "räumlich begrenzte Sonderform der Neustammbildung"[163] I think we will find evidence that **koryos* bands often went forth permanently from the **teutā* to form new tribes. This is what Festus must have meant when he attributed the founding of Rome to a *ver sacrum* expedition[164]. It is what Jan de Vries had in mind when he described the Germanic *Völkerwanderung* as "a kind of *ver sacrum*" under *duces* and Odin[165]. The mention of Odin is significant here, because, as Altheim and Versnel, among others, have pointed out, the Italic and Greek emigrations took place under the leadership of the Wolf-god.

Recalling the "most valiant dogs" of the previous section, we have a clear example of invasions which were actually prolonged razzias by

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160. Helm 294. 161. Ib. 285 & N3. 162. Ib. 289.

163. Wenskus 573.

164. See Versnel 156 n63 for quote.

165. "Das Königtum bei den Germanen," *Saeculum* 7 (1956) 297.

youthful dog-warriors. In this case we know that these Scythian "dogs" drove the Cimmerians out of Asia Minor; it was the "dog-pack" of the Scythians that the Greeks first met. When the Byzantine Greeks in the 6th century A.D. described the Slavs in terms of wolves, and certain sounds that they made, probably their battle-cry, as the howling of wolves[166], it is probably because the first Slavs they encountered were the **koryos* warriors.

When we meet whole nations whose names are a form of "wolf" or are derived from "wolf," or from another of the wolf-god's animals[167], or from one of his cult names, this could very well be a sign that, as Eliade suggested in the case of the Dacians, the nation grew out of a wolf-warrior band which had successfully established itself as an independent unit. The Langobards are an example of this. Tribal names meaning "sons," "offspring," "descendants," probably indicate an offshoot of a larger tribe, the result of a *ver sacrum*[168]. The ῾Υαντες, a people in Boeotia whom the Greeks characterized as "barbaric," is a likely example. "῾Υαντες entspricht genau idg. **iu̯u̯n̥t-* 'jung' (Pokorny, IEW 511), ist also die Bezeichnung der Jungmannschaft eines Stammes,

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166. Steindorff 45.

167. The Indo-Iranian "horse" tribes of Tucci's article might well be an example, alongside, e.g., the Picentes.

168. For Gmc. examples of such names see Wenskus 295; see also 349, 433, 467, 509 N533.

die etwa auf Landnahme auszog."[169] A "splendid example of a group of youths who have established themselves abroad after one of their raids" is the *Maryanni*, who became the warrior aristocracy of the Mitanni[170]. Ind. *marya-*, Iran. *mairya-*, was a young Männerbündler: the Maruts of the Ṛgveda, the "two-footed wolves" of the Iranians (11.1.1.2.4).

Although no one will disagree with Helm's conclusion that the Sabine version was unique, scholarship since his time has tended to look upon the process by which new Celtic and Germanic tribes were founded by the breaking off and sending forth of a part of the **koryos* as a kind of *ver sacrum*. Helm stressed *Weihung* and *Austreibung* as essential elements--elements which the Sabine *ver sacrum* and the *dekateusis* had in common. The story of the young Winnilers' adoption of an Odin cult-name probably reflects a special consecration. The youths were in any event a consecrated group; but since they would never undergo the *rite d'agrégation* into the **teutā*, it is reasonable to assume that they were rendered *sacer* in a special way, which would then preclude their ever

169. A.Heubeck & G.Neumann, "Zwei weitere griechische Belege für idg. **ieudh*?" *Glotta* 63 (1985) 6.

170. Bremmer, Suodales 144, cf 145. They were nobles who were "real chariot-warriors." "This was based not only on the literary antecedents of the term, for in the Veda the Maruts, who are mounted on chariots, drawn by brilliant horses, are called *rúdrasya máryas*, the martial attendants of Rudra, and of Indra, gods of war, but it was based also on the historical occurrences of the name *maryannu*, where, without chariotry, the various contexts were scarcely intelligible." Roger T. O'Callaghan, "New Light on the *Maryannu* as 'Chariot-Warrior,'" *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1950/51) 309.

returning to the main group: in this they were, as Versnel noted, like the *pharmakoi* (see n21). So I think Helm's essentials apply to the *ver sacrum* in the broader sense, and that in this sense the *ver sacrum* was a significant factor in the Indo-European expansion[171].

8.7. Canine/lupine qualities.

Clearly there is a strong connection between *canis*, both *familiaris* and *lupus*, and the Indo-European warrior. It seems as if some groups favored one of the *canidae* over the other; although the wolf was prevalent in Germania, the dog was favored among the Langobards[172].

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171. "This practice of gradual occupation of the soil **must have been inherited from IE**, and may be the motivation of their migrations, far away, presumably in small groups of young warriors with a chieftain, submitting or expelling the former occupant of the area they conquered." Edgar C. Polomé, "A Few Thoughts About Reconstructing Indo-European Culture and Religion," in *Language, Society and Paleoculture*. Essays by ECP, sel. & ed. by Anwar S. Dil (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1982) 303, emph. mine. Polomé cites the Hittite invasion of Anatolia as an example; cf. Mellaart, *passim*. Pompeius Trogus used the expression *veluti ver sacrum* of the Gauls, whose migration into Italy was connected by Livy with "restless youths," 5, 34, Versnel 155 n61. For the Wolf-god (with other animals) as leader of the wandering Gauls see Köves-Zulauf, esp. 68f. For *twin* leaders--divine or human, with indisputable *horse* connections--of migrating Männerbünde, especially abundant among the Greeks and Germans, see Norbert Wagner, "Dioskuren, Jungmannschaften und Doppelkönigtum," *ZfdP* 79 (1960) 1-17; 225-247. Were Dioskuroi-led *vera sacra* behind Tucci's horse tribes? But the Wolf-god Odin had "horse" by-names; one, at least, *Jálkr*, was a cult name (3.4.3).

172. The wolf-names begin appearing in the sixth century, at which time it is hard to rule out foreign influence (Paul 123).

Again it must be stressed that dog and wolf are cultically the same.

Apart from cult, however, there were flesh-and-blood wolves and dogs, whose meaning, if we may express it that way, was very different. It was inevitable that some features of the real canidae would intrude on the symbolism of the sacrally real canidae. Thus, in Ireland, dogs are the guardians of the Other-world hospitallers, while the féindidi go "wolfing." In Italy *rapto vivere* is to live like wolves. "To the Romans, the wolf was typical for the non-civilised world, a symbol of the 'Sphäre des unheimlichen Draussen.'" It was a bad omen if wolves entered the city[173]. In the wolf's character is something "which is expressed in the name heath-walker, heath-treader. The wilderness is part of its soul. Or the additional words 'in the forest' follow of themselves as soon as the creature is named; the wolf rejoiced in the forest, the wolf howled in the forest, nay, the grey wolf in the forest ran over the heath among the fallen."[174] In this respect the young warrior can only go "wolfing," because the flesh-and-blood dog belongs to the village.

Concerning the great hounds, "the symbol of warrior values *par excellence* in early Ireland," McCone writes that "the two facets of the dog's behaviour reflect different aspects of warriors and warfare."[175] Ideally, both dog and warrior show a benign face towards their own people as their staunch defenders, while meeting their people's enemies

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173. Bremmer, Romulus 30.

174. Grønbech I, 210.

175. McCone, Hounds 13.

with hostility and aggression. In fact, warriors are dangerous, whether singly or in groups. We see this in the young Cú Chulainn on the day in which he takes up the arms of manhood: he has done brave deeds and has rid Ulster of its greatest enemies; now he comes barreling back to Emain, still in a battle-frenzy, driving like a fiend, a threat to his own people. Only after he has been dunked in three vats of water is he sufficiently cooled-off to safely enter the city. We have already seen berserks who turn on each other, or who have to fight with trees and rocks so that they do not kill each other (4.2.1 & n7). This is an occupational hazard, inevitable in a person whose business it is to kill in an ecstatic state. Similarly, the hospitaller's dog which attacked Setantae was only doing its job, although the boy was a visitor and no enemy: "Despite its hostility to Cú Chulainn, the hound's behaviour is obviously conceived here as being perfectly proper in terms of its duty towards its owner and his possessions ..." "Objectively speaking,...one simply has two martial figures in conflict...," whereas "True malignity in martial figures of this type, whether hounds or human warriors, consists in their breaking faith without good reason and turning upon their own people or 'biting the hand that feeds them', to use a modern canine metaphor."[176] This is what two of the dogs in McCone's article do, and as a human analog we have Starkaðr, killer of three kings whose defender he was supposed to be. The point is that dog and warrior are ambiguous in exactly the same way.

Turning now to the flesh-and-blood wolf, we see that the ancients,

176. McCone, Hounds 14f.

no less than his modern fans, admired the wolf as a social being who fought as a member of a community; herdsmen certainly had ample opportunity to witness wolf-packs at work. Thus Hattusilis could express to the assembly the wish, "May your clan be one like that of the wolves."[177] Among the Greeks, too, "wolves were *perceived* as acting co-operatively." In Homer, "the emphasis...is on wolves as a collectivity, fierce in the fight and so suitable for comparison to warriors."[178] Buxton argues against Mainoldi's view that Greek perception of the wolf

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177. HAB II, 46-47, in Ivanov 794. Assembly = *panku*, clan = *pankur* --as in Homer, where the "people" (λαός) is the people under arms, the assembly a gathering of warriors, cf. Jeanmaire 54ff. H's Testament continues with the statement that Mursilis' subjects are born of a single mother (cf. ὁμογάλακτες).

46. [*su-me-en-za-na*] *ú-e-it-na-as ma-a-an pa-an-ku-ur-se-me-i*[*t I*^{EN}] *e-es-du*
47. [*ku-u-ru-ur(?) n*]*u-ua-an e-es-du si-i-e-el IR*^{MES} *.SU*[*I.NA I AM*]*A ha-as-sa-an-te-es*

Und eure Sippe sei [Eins] wie die des Wolfes,
[Zwist(?)] darf es nicht mehr (?) geben! Seine Diener sind
[einer Mut]ter Kinder! (Sommer & Falkenstein)

178. Buxton 62. "Mordlust, Hinterhältigkeit and Wildheit sind alles Eigenschaften, die dem Wolf zugeschrieben werden und als 'barbarisch' gelten." That these same qualities, along with wolfish howling, were attributed to the Slavs in the early Christian sources (Steindorff 44f), probably indicates that, here as elsewhere, the first representatives of this race that the chroniclers met were the *koryos*-warriors. The warriors themselves would no doubt have agreed with the attribution of bloodthirstiness, sneakiness, and savagery; they would simply have put a different value on these traits.

changed with time, so that, "from being 'le modèle de l'animal fort' in the Homeric poems, the wolf became marginalised as an emblem of savagery and, above all, of *dolos*, trickery."[179] I agree with Buxton, but I think something did change, in Greece and elsewhere, and that was the perception of the cultic warrior. When we recall what was said above about the young warrior's mode of hunting, and of his training in the *kryptie* in Sparta and certainly in some similar institution everywhere else, we will see that the wolf which sneaks up on its prey, the silent killer, is as much a model for the *koryos*-warrior as the wolf which fights bravely in a pack in cooperation with its brothers.

But there is yet another side to the wolf, and it is purely negative. This is the wolf as outsider, the lone wolf, the wolf as *vargr*. The wolf belongs outside in terms of the village, and so does the novice warrior, but both are part of a pack[180]. The lone wolf is the ultimate outsider, the pack animal outside the pack, and he becomes the metaphor for the man who has been cast out of human society. In Ireland the *cú glas* is "the stranger from beyond the sea," as opposed to the stranger from another Irish tribe, from whom he is always clearly distinguished. This "grey dog"--an Irish circumlocution for "wolf"[181]--was the man banished from

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179. Buxton 62.

180. This is why I indicated above that I think the idea of marginality can be carried too far. The novice is in one sense marginal, and that is why he is outside, but in another sense he, and the age-set of which he is a member, is part of the established social structure.

181. Campanile 240. Campanile has an interesting slant on the color

his own people. The outcast-wolf formed part of the Greek perception of the wolf as well[182]. In Hittite, the expression "to become a wolf" (UR.BAR.RA-) meant "'to forfeit one's rights' in a given situation."[183] The reason that rights were forfeit could vary. In one case, a bride-stealing has gotten out of hand and people have been killed; "it is judged by the parties involved, that the abductor has forfeited his rights. They formulate this decision in the sentence 'you have become a wolf.'" In another, Hattusilis has disinherited his own son and appointed Mursilis as his successor; "my son is a non-son, but let him be one of you my servants like the kin of the wolf."[184] Neither is a case of outlawry, but when a person is deprived of his rights and loses his place in a structured society, surely this is a step in that direction.

The Hittite word which has been said to be related etymologically to OIc. *vargr* is *hurkel*, which denotes a capital offence, punishable by

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represented by *glas*. The blue-black (*caeruleum*) woad with which British warriors painted their naked bodies (see 4.1) was called *glastum* in Gaul, according to Pliny, "and in the Celtic dialects its name is either a substantivation or a derivate of the adjective **glasto-*..."(241). The Britons were famous as the blue tribe; "Welsh *glasvleid*...is a rather traditionalistic epithet for a British warrior." (Ib.)

182. Buxton 63; cf. William Edward Higgins, "Wolf-god Apollo in the *Oresteia*," *La Parola del Passato* 31 (1976) 202f.

183. Jos Weitenberg, "The Meaning of the Expression 'to become a wolf' in Hittite," in *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture and Religion. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, I (JIES Monograph #7, 1991) 189.

184. Weitenberg 192.

death or banishment[185]. The "man of *hurkel*" is not a "wolf," but the Germanic word, from **wargaz*, attested in all the branches, did not mean wolf originally either; it meant the "man banished from his people," the outlaw, who, if he did not go into exile, could be killed without penalty, and since such men of necessity supported themselves by brigandage, the word effectively meant "criminal."[186] The connection criminal-wolf appears in German law only in the eleventh century, in England the same, in Scandinavian law not until the thirteenth century[187], though it must have been well-established then, since, as we saw, Snorri used *vargar* for wolves in his description of Odin's berserks (*Yng.s.*6, c.1230). So, despite *wargus sit* of the *Lex Salica*, Weitenberg may be correct in concluding that there is no "unequivocal indication that the expression 'to become a wolf' as it is used in the Hittite Laws, is of Proto-Indo-

185. Jaan Puhvel, "Hittite *hurkis* and *hurkel*," *Die Sprache* 17 (1971) 42ff.

186. Campanile 243. For the evolution of this term see Michael Jacoby, *wargus, vargr 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf'*(Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974) passim. The wolf-outlaw is something quite apart from the Männerbund, of course. And yet the situation becomes confused, because a man exiled from one tribe could join a Männerbund or retinue in the land to which he had fled as an exile. That in fact he often did we have already seen in the stories of Romulus and Caeculus, as well as in the historical case of the Bretti. Much later, when the retinue had supplanted the cultic Männerbund, such men were valued fighters because, having lost land and kindred they had little more to lose, and their undivided loyalty was to the lord who kept them armed and fed. But that is beyond the scope of this study.

187. Jacoby 122f.

European ancestry."[188] Yet there must have been something inherent in the concept of wolf which could make a wolf a right-less man, and a right-less man a wolf, over such a divide of time and space.

But what is there inherent in the wolf which could make him the *Würger*, the strangler? To return to the beginning of this section, we saw there the many wolf words and names formed on the root **dhau-*, alongside, or replacing, the IE wolf word **ulk"os*. And now again, in Germania, we have the throttler or strangler, on a different root, **Hwer-gh-*[189], becoming the wolf, granted in a purely negative sense. A wolf does not strangle its prey! Might it be that the strangler is the quintessential killer?

In several German and English law codes of the sixth to twelfth centuries, a person becomes a *wargus* if he digs up a corpse[190]. This may have no particular significance, since grave robbery has always and everywhere been considered a particularly heinous act, but it is an act which was attributed, not without reason, as we shall see, to the Männerbündler in India and Iran; indeed they were accused not only of

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188. Weitenberg 189.

189. Puhvel, hurkel 44.

190. Pactus Legis Salicae, Merovingian, c.507-511; Lex Salica (c.714-718), Lex Ribuaria (c.745), Carolingian; in England, Leges Henrici (1100-1135). Jacoby, *wargus* 22-27 (Kap.1, I "'warg' und Leichenraub" *passim.*).

digging up corpses, but of feasting upon them[191]. As we will see in Part III, the koryos-warrior's connection with Death was not limited to representing the Dead at feasts and processions. But when we come to burial-grounds and carrion-eating, we are in the other realm of *canis* symbolism, the realm of Death; and here *lupus* and *familiaris* have once again the same meaning.

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191. Adherents of some cults of Śiva, heir of the Wolf- and Männerbund-god Rudra, were accused of this in post-Vedic times, again not without evidence.

Chapter 9. The god of the **koryos*.

Let me emphasize that **nowhere** do we find the Männerbund in its "pure" form. The reason is simple enough: the Männerbund belonged to the *nomadikos bios*, whereas our information comes from people who have built cities[1]. But an institution which is as central to the social life of a nation as this one was will not disappear without a trace. In Iran it developed into a feudal system[2], and in Sparta it evolved into an even more complicated structure of age-sets and rites of passage, and a ruling elite of lifelong *koryos* warriors[3]. In India it was suppressed, but, as Heesterman has shown, all sorts of anomalies in Indian ritual can be explained if they are traced back to their roots in the vrātya-brotherhoods. We have seen wolf-men bands in Greece and Italy, and in Italy, too, we find cultic brotherhoods which look as if they go back to military-cultic

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1. As we have seen, it is likely that Greek and Latin authors saw and described genuine *koryos*-bünde among the Germans and Scythians, but they did not understand what they were witnessing, and so we get such garbled stories as that of Ammianus about the "disgusting" Taifali, or the tales of dogs in battle.

2. See Widengren, *Feudalismus* passim., esp. Kap.I, "Die Wurzeln des altiranischen Feudalismus."

3. When did the Spartan youth finally become an adult? He continued to live in the barracks after marriage and to wear his hair long. There was nothing like the ceremony and oath at Athens by which the ephebe became a hoplite; we know of no consecration of either the youth or the man, s. Martin P. Nilsson, "Die Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens," *Klio* 12 (1912) 324. Even his favorite gods--Apollo, Herakles, and the Dioskuroi--were all kouroi (Vidal-Naquet 148ff.).

brotherhoods. In Ireland the bands live on in the *fíana*, but in the stories of Finn and his men there is no trace of religion or cult[4]. In Germania it looks as if the **koryos* was evolving into the Gefolgshaft or *comitatus* at the very moment that the Germans were entering history; in other words, a religious Bund became a secular band. In the early prose writings in Scandinavia, memories are fresh of *berserkir* and *ulfheðnar*, but these are no longer understood.

According to McCone's schema, the *koryos*-bündler had their god, who was their leader, and the *teutā* had a god who led the adult warriors in battle and who was also, because the men-at-arms and the "people" were one and the same[5], the defender of the tribe and responsible for its total well-being. McCone notes an inherent tension between *teutā* and king on the one hand, and the *koryos* with its leader on the other. There is certainly, as we have seen, a marked opposition between juvenile and adult warriors; the *tension*, I think, is rather between those who have become sedentary and those who are on the move, or, as Moody phrases it, the "home-bodies" and the "go-getters[6]." The tension is thus between those who have begun to build cities and to live under a new ideology, and those who still live according to the ideology of the *nomadikos bios*. Among the Indo-Iranians, where the tension on the cosmic level is

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4. Or the traces that remain are attributed to the Devil: "a *uotum mali* and the wearing of the *signa diabolica*." Sharpe 83.

5. Ivanov 796; Jeanmaire 54ff.

6. Translating *Śālīna* or *kṣemya* vs. *yāyāvara*, Moody 69.

palpable, we find that in Iran it is the home-bodies among the gods, the *ahuras*, who are the clear winners, although the structure and ideology of the Männerbund are taken over into the feudal system[7]; whereas in India the go-getters, the *devas*, prevail in the heavens, while on the ground every effort is made to wipe out all traces of the old ideology of motion and conquest[8].

When we look for the god of the **koryos* we will do well to keep in mind these words of Gernet: "en général, dans les cultes anciens, ce n'est pas la personalité du dieu qui est au point de départ, c'est du culte lui-même que le dieu tient son être."[9] In our case, we will be looking for associations with war, death, the wolf and dog, with ecstatic states, with initiations, and with the winter solstice, and, where these do not coincide, with the changing year. We will expect him to share the ambiguity of the **koryos* itself and to appear sometimes good, sometimes evil, and always at least potentially dangerous. Like the **koryos*, he will have fructifying powers. As good and fructifying and life-giving, he is the Dragon-Killer, or at least closely associated with the Dragon-Killer. And since it is

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7. Forms and symbols survive in the Mithras mystery cult which infested the Roman Empire.

8. Not very successfully: the ritual language is "full of conflict and bloodletting," Heesterman, Fire 84, as is clear from Moody's study of the Agnyādheya as well as from Heesterman's sizable opus. Indra is forever killing Vṛtra; the devas are constantly yoking-up (yoga!) their war-chariots and going off to battle the asuras; and the brahmin is a chariot warrior. S. f.ex. Conflict 99, 105; Opferwildnis 14f.

9. Gernet, Dolon 192.

during their years in the **koryos* that the youths are educated in all the lore of the tribe, we can expect their god to be associated with knowledge, including occult knowledge, and with all facets of what we may call the intellectual life.

If the cult from which this god took his being no longer existed in its original form in the historical period; if it had evolved into a more elaborate structure; if it had been suppressed, or if it had simply itsdevolved and disappeared, leaving only traces in ritual and myth, as an advancing civilisation developed new methods of warfare and education, then we can expect that its god underwent similar changes. Where we can identify this god we find that he is changed indeed, but not always in sync with the cultic brotherhood that gave him his being.

9.1. India. The Maruts, the mythical representatives of the Männerbund, are associated principally with two gods, Rudra, their father, and Indra, the dragon-killer[10]. What is more natural than that the war-god should be followed by a troop of young warriors?[11]

Rudra is the god of the Vrātya brotherhoods. He is the archer god who shoots the plague arrows, sending disease and death. Since he is in control of disease and death he can also remove or avert them; thus prayers to Rudra are appeals to stay away, to shoot elsewhere (chapt 11).

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10. By virtue of his most frequent epithet, Vṛtrahan, killer of Vṛtra, which had become the Dragon, s. E.Benveniste & L.Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1934).

11. On Indra and the Maruts see esp. Wikander, *Männerbund* 79-81.

His home is in the forest, not with the other gods; his sons/ *Doppelgänger* are ravening wolves. He is experienced as evil, malicious, underhanded: thus he comes to be known as Śiva, the Benevolent One. We will have a great deal more to say about Rudra in Part III.

The situation with Indra and the Vrātyas is more complex. Rudra is their leader[12], but Indra the Dragon-Slayer dominates the Feast of the Changing Year, the Mahāvrata[13]. Yet the Dragon-Slayer is only the public Indra; associated with this feast are occult revelations of Indra as High God[14], encompassing all antitheses of divine being. It appears that

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12. Rudra is *vrātapati* 'Lord of Hosts' (Hauer 189); Indra is *mahāvrāta*, 'Having a great host' (183).

13. On the Mahāvrata, see above 3.5, below 11.7, and Hauer 246-296. It formed a part of the festivities of the New Year; according to Hauer it was the cardinal feast of the pre-brahmanic period (280). Vrata is oath; Vrāta is group bound by an oath; Vrātya is a member of a vrāta (179-193; 217). Mahāvrata is great oath. "Dieses Vrata war die große Feier der Vrātya, zu der sich die Geweihten in einem Vrāta zusammentaten." (246) Since the new year is both renewal and beginning it is a fitting time for the rebirth of initiation. But the slaying of the dragon and the releasing of the waters (and the cows) also counts as both renewal and beginning, and the new year feast is very much the feast of the Dragon-Slayer, Indra, who is honored with song and sacrifice.

14. To borrow Widengren's term Hochgott (see below), which translates better than Hauer's Allgott. This is how Indra revealed himself to Viśvāmitra once at the Mahāvrata: "Ich bin der Grosse und die Grosse; ich bin der Gott und die Göttin; ich bin Brahman und Brāhmanī." (295; on the mystical interchange btw. Indra and Viśvāmitra and sources see 293-295.)

Indra had an importance to the Männerbund beyond even his importance in the Rgveda[15].

9.2. Iran. Mithra, "the supreme god of the brotherhoods,"[16] is himself the dragon-killer. Indra, with the other *daēvas*, became a demon in Iran, while Vṛtragan, as the god Vərəθraγna, appears in close association with Mithra; he evolves from companion to satellite, and finally becomes an attribute of Mithra; and Mithra becomes vərəθragan[17].

But Mithra is no Indra. He is mysterious, secretive, uncanny, sinister. Inevitably the word crops up in describing Mithra which is consistently used of Rudra and Odin: *heimtückish*, malicious. Yet he is no Rudra or Odin, either; he is a High God, having in his own being all opposites, all of good and evil, and perhaps he only appears malicious to

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15. There are far more hymns to Indra in the RV than to any other god, and they are hymns full of love and adoration; surely no god could be more unlike Rudra.

16. Widengren, Ceinture 140.

17. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 124f. "Man kann verstehen, daß dem Mithra der Beiname *vərəθragan* angeheftet wird, denn Vərəθraγna tritt ja im Gefolge Mithras auf. Wir glauben hier jenen bekannten religionsgeschichtlichen Prozess konstatieren zu können, daß eine ehemals selbstständige Gottheit zuerst mit einer anderen sie überragenden immer mehr in enge Verbindung gebracht und schließlich ganz in sie hineinprojiziert und nur noch als eine ihrer Eigenschaften aufgefaßt wird. So kann auch Mithra, weil die Gottheit Vərəθraγna im Gefolge Mithras auftrat, das Epitheton *vərəθragan* erhalten" (125). Awest. Mithra and vedic Indra compared in Stig Wikander, *Vayu* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz: 1941) 33f.

men because men cannot control him or gain insight into his intentions[18].

Mithra is both the ancestor and the god of the ruling class; he himself is the actual sovereign lord, and he leads the warriors[19]. He is the Rider-god[20], and his is the New Year's feast, Mithragān, when the king performs a ritual dance and becomes (ritually) intoxicated on the "golden water" of which only the king and his eldest son may drink; thus Mithra-worship and the king are connected with the haoma-cult[21], which belongs to the bloody sacrificial feasts of the Männerbünde[22].

Also associated with the Männerbünde are the two wind-gods, Vayu and Vāta, both gods of warriors. Vayu, like Mithra, is "die höchste Schicksalsgottheit," and, as such, is both good and evil. Vayu is split in two, as the good Vayu and the bad Vayu[23]; the bad Vayu then plays the role of death-god[24]. Yet there was also a tradition which knew Vayu as

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18. Widengren *Hochgottglaube* 123. 19. Ib. 146.

20. Ib. 151. 21. Ib. 157-161. 22. Ib. 340.

23. Ib.194. In his own circles Vayu is the warriors' god as well as ruler of heaven and hell, s. Wikander, *Vayu* 49; "Königsgott" 81; associated with ecstatic visions 77f.

24. Vayu is depicted as a death demon who binds people and hauls them away, Ib.76. Sometimes identified with the bad Vayu as death-god, sometimes appearing as his servant, is Astovihāt. As Vayu's servant he is "the valet who binds himself to the one who is fated to die." (Nyberg, quoted in *Hochgottglaube* 198, trans mine.) As death-god, Astovihāt is "the Insatiable;" his name means "he who brings about the disintegration of the body" (199), which goes back to the most primitive concept of Death as the eater of the corpse (see chapter 13).

one being of double aspect[25]. Vāta appears as Mithra's companion and assistant and is another typical "Schicksalsmacht"[26]. In battle Vāta comes to the aid of the Fravašis, or he takes part with Mithra on the side favored by these tutelary spirits[27]. Vāta is both *vərəθraγan-* and *Vərə-θraγna*; he is victory-god and luck-god[28]. But Vāta, too, has a bad side, as is seen in an old story in which he tries not only to dominate but even to damage creation[29]. Vayu and Vāta are identical in character[30]. The simplest explanation, says Widengren, is that they were originally two distinct gods who were worshipped by two different tribes as Highest Being.

Most interesting of all, however, is Aēšma who, at least to the Zoroastrian community from which all our information comes, has no good side. He is always accompanied by his troops, "the troops with the bloody banner"[31], by Daēvas and whores, by two-footed Mairyas and

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25. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 195. 26. Ib.216.

27. Ib.218. "[S]ie sind Schutzgeister oder Schutzengel. Zugleich sind sie jedoch auch die Seelen der Frommen oder richtiger: ihr höheres, geistiges Selbst, daneben dann 'geistige Urwesen' dieser frommen Menschen." Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965) 21. "Die Totenseelen als Totenheer, das in den Kämpfen der Lebenden sich beteiligt," Wikander, *Männerbund* 63; "die Seelen der Krieger, schön ausgerüstet," *Vayu* 45. Need we draw attention to their affinities with the Maruts, the Lares, and the Einheriar? Vayu, too, is associated with the Fravašis, *Vayu* 81, 93.

28. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 219. 29. Ib.222.

30. Ib.223. 31. Ib.313.

four-footed wolves[32]. Aesma is "the strong-armed"--but so is Mithra, who is sometimes his opponent, but sometimes the patron of the strong-armed and himself leader of the terrifying hosts with their bloody banner[33]. Widengren concludes that Aēšma is "an aspect of Mithra's being." "Wir erblicken dann nur wieder die uns bekannte Tendenz, die schicksalshafte, als grausam empfundene Seite des höchsten Gottes aus seinem Wesen herauszusondern und als selbständige ihm feindlich entgegentretende Macht zu behandeln..."[34].

The word Aēšma means "Zorn, Wut, Raserei." "It comes from the verb *aēš-/aiš-* 'sich in eilige Bewegung setzen'"[35]. In Germanic terms, Aesma is Wōd! "Tatsächlich ist ja Mithra im hohen Grade ein Gott der iranischen Krieger gewesen und darum kann Aēšma--die wütende Raserei--als eine Seite seines Wesens gedacht werden."[36]

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32. Ib.315. And by Kavis and Karapans, two non-Zoroastrian priesthoods; for the latter see above 5.5.4.4.

33. Ib. 316f.

34. Ib.318.

35. Ib.318f. We have only to imagine Wōd as an aspect of a sovereign god's being, then a by-name, lastly the name by which the god came to be called, to see how Wōdan could become at once the insidious Rudra-god of the wolf-warriors and god of kings and king of gods.

36. Ib.319. The other side of Mithra, Aēšma's opposite, is Sraoša, "obedience," or "obedient following;" thus the god "of the obedient following" (318). "Es ist die Gottheit, die von denjenigen Leuten angerufen wird, die Friedensvertrag und Aussöhnung verehren (Yast 11,15). Er hat also seine Gemeinde unter den allem Streit und Raub abholden Schichten der Gesellschaft." (320)

"Aēšma...sammelt um sich ein Gesindel allerschlimmster Art. Es sind 'drugmässige Scharen', die er heranstürmen läßt. Das Feldzeichen, das diese wütenden Horden führen, *χrūra drafša*, läßt Schlüsse zu, die auf eine bestimmte Organisation hindeuten...Wir haben es hier mit den verschiedenen iranischen Männerbund-Organisationen zu tun. Diese außerhalb der geordneten, asamässigen Gesellschaft stehenden, von Raublust und Kriegswut erfüllten Männerbünde sind die natürlichen Verehrer des Aēšma...Aber nicht nur Aēšma, die böse Seite im Wesensbild Mithras, sondern auch Mithra selbst, 'der Starkarmige' konnte von diesen unheimlichen Bünden als ihr eigenster Gott in Anspruch genommen werden."[37]

To the Zoroastrian community, the Männerbünde were outsiders and enemies of the Aryans. As we find everywhere, to that segment of the nation which first forms permanent settlements, tilling the earth to grow feed grains for its cattle-herds, the adolescent bands of its still-mobile kinsmen are a veritable plague and are experienced as a hostile and foreign force[38]. The Dēvs (daēvas) give their worshipers cattle, stolen, of course, from the honest homebodies. The Dēvs, of the race of Hēšm (Aēšma), attack the Iranians, burning and plundering; they wear their hair long and loose, their clothes and weapons are black and they

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37. Widengren *Hochgottglaube* 320.

38. Which goes a long way toward explaining the confusion that reigned until relatively recently concerning the vrātyas, who most scholars assumed were non-Aryans.

wear a leather belt[39]. These enemies of the lands Ahura Mazda made are thus also his enemies and can be called worshipers of Ahriman[40].

Lastly, in the non-Zoroastrian community in which Zervan was High God, there seem to have been certain "asocial categories," "dregs of society," whose ash-colored clothing identifies them with Ahriman, the evil god; they, too, celebrate orgiastic rites to dark powers[41].

9.2.1. Ossetes. St. George--i.e. *Wastyrgi/Wasgergi*--is, of course, the Dragon-killer; as we have seen, he is occasionally lycomorphic (8.3.1.b), and the principal rites of initiation take place at his feast (8.6). "*Wastyrgi*-Saint George, who has received in the beliefs of the Ossetes many of the features of the pagan god and dragon-killer, has very clearly kept the appearance of patron of men's societies and of warriors (5.6).

"The other Ossete god closely connected to the men's societies and military cults is the master of wolves, *Tûtyr*..."(8.6). At his feast *Styr Tûtyr* there were military contests and meetings and festivities of the men,

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39. The Dēvs thus look like their worshipers--or vice versa. As we shall see, they also look exactly like the Indian vrātyas.

40. Widengren *Hochgottglaube* 340-346.

41. Ib. 346f.; on Zervan, *HGG* 266-287: he was the old Sky-god, father of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. The former is by his commission creator of the world, while the latter is by his permission ruler of the present world; Zervan himself retired, to become *deus otiosus*. Zervanism seems to have been an absolute dualism (of the sort Zarathustra was obviously trying to rule out by elevating the good power to the highest position). Benveniste sees Manicheanism as carrying over both belief and rituals of Zervanism; for an ecstatic rite to dark powers see "Un Rite zervanite chez Plutarch," *JA* 215 (1929) 287-296.

"while the boys and adolescents underwent initiation to several grades. Among them, ritual death followed by rebirth played an important role. In this rite, the soul of the boy was carried off by the demon *Udxæssæg*, who had the form of a wolf. The other connections of *Tûtyr*, as of *Wastyrgi*, with the military function are very numerous in the epic of the Narts and in Ossete customs."[42]

9.3. The god or gods of the **Celtic** Männerbünde are unknown[43], though Stuart Piggott remarked, back in 1949, on the resemblance between Rudra leading the Maruts and Finn and the fíana[44].

9.4. Balts and Slavs. For the **Slavs** we have Saxo's priceless description of the god Svantovit as leader of an elite band; unfortunately this is all we know about either bands or god (7.6.2).

The **Lithuanian** god Velinas[45], "god of the dead and of cattle (wealth and fertility), led his troop of *veles*, "ghosts of heroes"[46] like a Wild Hunt. Wolf and dog are only two of his many animal forms[47]. His "name could not be used for taboo reasons, and instead many other names were used" one of the most common of which is Pikulas, Pikis, Piktis,

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42. Ivančik 318.

43. But see Köves-Zulauf, "Helico," for a candidate.

44. *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950) 260.

45. The oldest form, alt. Vêlenas, more commonly Vélnias.

46. Marija Gimbutas, "The Lithuanian God Velnias," in *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity*, Gerald James Larsen, ed. (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1974) 87.

47. Ib.91.

"Zorngott[48]." Another is Ragius "seer." Velinas is one-eyed! "Velinas's one eye is magic, like the Germanic Odin's..."[49].

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48. "Pickollos seems to be derived from the same root as Lithuanian *pykstu*, 'be angry,' a sense that resembles that of Odin (*Wōðanaz)." He was the most important Prussian deity; he was "the god of death" who had "the power to kill." "Pocullus deus spirituum volantium sive cacodaemonarum," P is the god of flying spirits or evil demons. Robert L. Fisher, jr., "Indo-European Elements in Baltic and Slavic Chronicles," in *Myth and Law among the Indo-Europeans*, Jaan Puhvel, ed. (Berkeley: U of Cal., 1970) 149.

49. "From a description of Lithuanian paganism in 1595 by Henneberger we learn that there was a holy spring Golbe near Isrutis...to which men came 'to become one-eyed,' that is, to sacrifice one eye. It was a great honor to be one-eyed, and some one-eyed old men were still living in Henneberger's time" (Gimbutas, Velnias 89). Velinas has obvious affinities with Odin, apart from the eye, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. For Velinas-Odin-Varuna, Philippe Jouet, *Religion et mythologie des Baltes* (Milan/Paris: Archè, 1989) 73. For Pickollos-Odin-Varuna, Fisher.
"Sovij is a warrior-hunter of the Odin type, who undertakes a 'crossing of the darkness.' One recognizes the dealing-out of a ritual, perhaps initiation, feast...at the conclusion of which the hero undertakes his expedition, guided by his "sons." After this he performs the office of psychopomp...A cult legend, therefore, probably born of a ritual of a confrérie" (Jouet 163f).
"The Old Russian Veles may be a deity cognate in name and kind with Velinas" (Gimbutas, Velnias 89). Veles appears to be a kind of Apollo, a poet's god. He has connections with death, cattle, seers, et.al. He "is depicted as a wolf standing upright, clothed like a man and carrying a staff;" he is, like Velinas, protector of livestock (Richard A.Ridley, "Wolf and Werewolf in Baltic and Slavic Tradition," *JIES* 4 [1976] 327). Ridley's article brings together numerous instances of a wolf-god who is patron of flocks and herds--or, as we will say in the next chapter, *paśupati*--and concluding with the Kurland Werewolves of the early seventeenth (!) century, obviously devolved from a Männerbund, barely

9.5. Greece. Here it will be good to recall Kretschmer's words[50] concerning Greek gods--Zeus, Pan, Apollo--bearing wolf by-names: there was once a god who was the Wolf, in both name and form, and only later became identified with Zeus or Apollo or Pan. In Arcadia we find Zeus the Wolf-god λυκαῖος (8.2.3.a) and on Crete we find Zeus the Greatest Kouros and the child-Zeus protected by the dancing, weapons-clashing kouretes (5.5.4.4). But these are at the fringes[51].

In Apollo the dragon-killer we find the surest traces of the Männerbund god of the Greeks. His name Ἀπόλλων--NWGk/Doric Ἀπέλλων--was originally a by-name: he was the god of the Apellai, the great yearly tribal or communal assemblies at which boys became ephebes[52]. The Labyadae-inscription from Delphi (Buck 52) informs about the feast there, which took place in the first month, Apellaios[53].

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understanding what they are doing, but believing--and I mean believing in a religious sense--that their activities are necessary to the well-being of the livestock and thus of the human community as well. The text can be found in the original German at the end of Höfler's *KGG* and in English translation as Appendix B of Gershenson's *Apollo the Wolf-god.*

50. "Der Name der Lykier" 15.

51. Is his absence in the *Iliad*, when he is visiting the blameless Ethiopians, a relic of the tendency of these gods to come and go? (See below.) Attested is also Thessalian Ζεύς θαύλιος, the strangler or the killer κατ' ἐξοχήν. Πὰν λυκαῖος unites again wolf and goat.

52. Burkert, "Apellai und Apollon," *RM* 118 (1974). For the name and variants, 5-7.

53. "Apollo was patron of the first month at Delphi, Elis, Tenos, Priene,

Now if the god who is also Lykeios, Karneios, Pythios, et.al., took his principal name from the initiatory feast over which he presided, it is safe to consider him principally a god of initiations, and indeed of that time in a boy's life when he becomes a part of the state--the defining moment of the boy's life, but also of the state's, for with this new crop of young men the state is given, as it were, a new lease on life; and thus we have in the Apellai the rebirth of the year, the community, and the youths[54].

And if Apollo was "von Haus aus ein Gott der Dorier,"[55] this means that the Wolf- and initiation-gods of the other Greeks were subsumed under this name. The iconography makes this quite plain: Apollo is the eternal kouros, the arch-ephebe; and so he appears in

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Lampsakos, Cyzicus, where the monthnames are Apellaios, Apellonios, Apellaion, Boedromios. The Athenian first month Hekatombaion was also dedicated to Apollon" Versnel 153n24.

54. There were, of course, other assemblies for other purposes, but because the aggregation of the new group of ephebes is so central to the community's life, so crucial to its very existence, this feast is *the* apellai, *the* assembly par excellence.
The feast is attested for Sparta and Delphi. At Delphi, at least, there were two other *rites de passage*, of the newly born and the newly married, at this feast, but that the initiation of new warriors was the heart of the feast is indicated by, among other things, the fact that cakes were offered for the married and the infants, whereas victims were sacrificed on behalf of the initiands. The gods invoked are Apollo, Poseidon phratrios, and Zeus patroios. "It is worth noting...that Apollo is named before his father Zeus and that no epithet is given him: he is very simply the god of Delphi, and Apollo Apellaios would be a tautologie." Burkert, Apellai 16.

55. Ib. 8.

Homer, ἀ-κερσε-κόμης, with unshorn hair. It is surprising, then, that at Athens, Apollo is not concerned with the ephebes nor they with him. He is not invoked in the Ephebic Oath, nor has he any part in the Apatouria, the Athenian festival of the phratries, analogous to the Apellai. Apollo Lykeios at Athens is god of the adult males, the hoplites, not the adolescent ephebes. "At Athens he was the god of the initiated, not the initiants.[56]"

What has happened to Apollo is explained by Versnel in his brilliant comparative study of Apollo and Mars. With Burkert, Versnel regards "the original Apellon/Apollon as the reflection of the *ephebos* in the transitional period from the status of boy to the integration in the community of men. The *Apellaia* were the ritual expression of this."[57] He was with "the youngsters who, during their initiation, retired into the outer world, fell back into a state of natural life, roaming the wilds like

56. Michael Jameson, "Apollo Lukeios in Athens," *Archaiognosia* 1-2 (1980/81) 232. "We are left to speculate on whether the wolf of Lykeios in Attike never carried the connotations of the wild adolescent before he became a man, or whether, in the many ethnic and cultic strains that went into the making of the historical Athenian state, the figure of Apollo Lykeios came to be fixed on the moment of passing out of the transition into full manhood, the end rather than the beginning of the ephebeia, and thus attached to the assembled adult males. Other traditions, by this view, came to dominate the transitional period itself." 232f. Jameson notes that even among West Greek speakers "the relationship of Lykeios to other, initiatory aspects of Apollo is far from clear," adding that it is not evident that Apollo Lykeios was involved with initiations even in Sparta (233 & n1).

57. Versnel 146.

wolves...," armed with bow and arrow[58], and now he brings them to the point of their re-integration into society, at the Apellaia or an analogous festival. Now Versnel compares Apollo and Mars iconography with "snapshots" taken at this feast of aggregation. Apollo's picture is snapped before the initiation, before the *kouros*' hair is cut, still looking more like a hunter than a military man with his bow and arrows. Mars' picture is taken after the initiation: he is now the fully armed warrior[59]. This is why Apollo can continue to look the part of the youthful hunter even after he has, in one city after another, moved into the center, as at Athens where, in Jameson's words, Apollo Lykeios "conspicuously represents the culmination of the initiatory, integrating process."[60]

Even where Apollo "dominated the political centre," he was not ever-present; he spent the winter months at the back of the north wind, and so his return in the spring was the occasion of great rejoicing. Versnel relates this "particular and very fundamental trait of the *ephebos*-god...to the very concrete social situation of the youngsters who, during their initiation, retired into the outer world..."[61]. Not only this but, as we saw above, in the original situation, the forest-life of raiding and living off the land alternated seasonally with a period of life in the village, and

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58. Versnel 144. "Moreover, if Apollo is the image or projection of the *epheboi* during their wanderings outside civilization, it is at once clear why he became the guide and leader of groups of young male *oikistai*" especially of the *dekateusis* (or *ver sacrum*) type (3.2.1.3).

59. Ib.149. 60. Jameson 231. 61. Versnel 144.

so the rhythms of the god's presence and absence were those of his charges, but remained a part of his nature long after the forms of education had changed[62].

That a god of the outside should be able to capture the center will not seem surprising in light of the career of Rudra-Śiva. Unlike Śiva, however, Apollo divested himself of his wild and terrifying aspects, so that the ancients were at pains to explain away his wolf epithet, and even Versnel attributes the "aspects of plaguegod, the pestiferous arrows, purification, healing, possibly also the oracular powers" to foreign influences[63]. Yet as early as 1949 Grégoire and Goosens had noticed the striking resemblance between Apollo Smintheus and Rudra[64], and now that there are so many studies of the Männerbund and its god, it is evident that the most frightening and repulsive features are inherent in both[65].

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62. Thus an *aetion* arises to explain whither he goes and why, and thus is avoided the sort of *aporia* we find surrounding Odin's (and Oðr's) prolonged absences.

63. Versnel 145.

64. Grégoire, Henri, et.al., *Asklèpios, Apollon smintheus et Rudra. Études sur le dieu à la taupe et le dieu au rat dans la Grèce et dans l'Inde*. (Brussels, 1949).

65. One more note, before we leave Apollo. No less than Apollo himself, Achilleus is the paragon of the ephebe, "the *initiandus* par excellence" (Versnel 143); his story has all the elements of a rite of passage: the tempering with fire, education in the forest with Chiron the centaur, cross-dressing. He is the "mirror-image of the god;" *therefore* he must be killed by Apollo, not, Burkert reminds us, because Apollo was

9.6. Italy. In Italy we have several candidates--not because our knowledge of Italic/Roman religion is unusually rich, but rather because it is, sadly, fragmentary. Candidates for the role of koryos-god are Faunus, Vediovis/Veiovis, that god of Soracte who was Apollo soranus/ dis pater of the Hirpi Sorani, Mars, and perhaps Quirinus.

4.6.1. Let us begin with Mars, for it is Mars who is the wolf-god, whose sacred animals lead the youths of the *ver sacrum* (8.1. 3), a god of the outside[66], and the dancing god (5.5.4.3) whose priests are a dancing cultic brotherhood in military dress[67]. Mars' presence, like Apollo's, is not self-evident; Mars, too, arrives every year: he is born[68], and his birth is celebrated by the weapons-dance of the Salii[69]. Here again the arrival of the god opens the year[70]; in Rome the new year began, not at the

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defending Troy--when Troy was being destroyed Apollo did not lift a finger (19). This is what Höfler called the high-point in the life of the (Odinic) hero: *die Heimholung durch seinen Herrn*!

66. His main sanctuary is outside the *pomerium*, but his spear and vexilla are kept in a sanctuary in the Regia, inside the city.

67. Alföldi, *Reiteradel* 38ff.

68. "In Rome...the birth (or arrival) of Mars is unique." Versnel 138.

69. "There is a remarkable parallelism between the *Salii* and their weapon-dance for the 'new' Mars on his birthday, the first of March, and a similar weapon-dance by armed *Kouretes* at a place called Ortygia, near Ephesus, which accompanied the birth of Apollo." Versnel 138.

70. According to the old calendar. The new year was changed to January 1 in 45 BC, stranding the month of atonement which was to prepare for it in second place.

winter solstice, but at the real beginning of the Mediterranean Spring, "the time when kings go out to war," as the Bible says. Mars is the only Italic god who has a month named after him among both Latin and Sabellic tribes[71].

Despite his hoplite attire, Mars' basic occupation--war or agriculture--was long a matter of dispute[72]. Dumézil established him firmly in the Second Function and placed his look-alike, Quirinus, in the Third. Rosivach then asks what sort of war-god he is, and concludes that "as a war god, Mars' primary function was purificatory/ protective"[73] "as opposed to...leading in war or giving victory"[74]. But when we look at the agricultural side of this god we find that in Cato's prayer, "Mars is...called upon to provide protection" to the fields[75], and in the *carmen Arvale* he is invoked, "at least in part, as an averter of evil, a protector," not only of the seed but of the people as well, against "diseases seen and unseen," as Cato puts it. Thus his role appears to be that of "protector

71. For these communities see Wissowa R&K 141.

72. Scholtz, *Marskult* 9-17 provides an overview of the conflicting views of Mars.

73. Vincent J. Rosivach, "Mars, the Lustral God," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 515.

74. Ib. 516. Although he could do that as well: "Die Legende weiß davon zu erzählen, daß der Gott selber römische Heere zum Siege geführt habe, z.B. beim Kampfe des C.Fabricius Luscinus gegen die Lucaner und Bruttier, Val.Max. I 8,6...," Wissowa, R&K 146.

75. Rosivach 517.

of his people against evils in general."[76] Evans recognizes Mars as a "high god" of the Italic peoples[77]. Originally he had a local function: each Italic community had its Mars[78]; this is reflected in the various foundation myths[79].

The foundation myths remind us of Mars' sacred animals--woodpecker, bull, and wolf--which led the youths; but it was actually Mars himself, as woodpecker, bull, or wolf, who was leading them. He also had a special relationship with the horse: two of his feasts, the *Equirria* of March 14 and the *October equus* of October 15, involve chariot races, the latter also a horse-sacrifice, and he is connected with the *Lusus Troiae*, a labyrinth-play performed by adolescent boys on horseback[80].

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76. Rosivach 518. 77. Evans 48-51.

78. This is reflected in the differing forms of his name, as well (see Radke 199-202); and perhaps it is appropriate to recall here that there were Salier brotherhoods at Alba, Lavinium, Tusculum, Tibur, and Agnani "from a very early period." Bloch, *Origins* 136.

79. Rosivach 520.

80. For the citations from Virgil and Seneca, and the evidence, written and iconographic, connecting the *Lusus Troiae* with Mars, see Versnel 148. "The labyrinth is one of the common symbols of initiation or more generally of birth and rebirth." Recall what was said of labyrinth dances above in the section on "Dancing Gods."
Versnel describes, and provides a drawing of, a scene on a late 4th century B.C. cista from Praeneste showing a child, labeled "Mars," "being lifted from or immersed in the boiling or burning contents of a vase." He also gives two similar scenes from Etruscan mirrors of c. 300 B.C.. (Figs. 4-6) But the *cista Praenestina* is especially interesting in

The early Mars must have had a close relationship with the dead which, apart from the wolf, had disappeared by Republican times, though

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light of a story from Praeneste: There was an Ausonian named Mares "who died three times and was reborn thrice, an unmistakable clue to the meaning of the immersion-scene on the cista Praenestina. This Mares, so the story continues, was half-human and half-horse. Here again a clear connection with the god Mars emerges." (147f.) In addition to offering further confirmation of Mars' role in intiations, the Mares story would connect him with Centaurs and Gandharvas, and thus with the ubiquitous but elusive horse-masks we have seen and with the "jeu du Cheval" of Dumézil's *Centaures*. (The labyrinth-dance performed on flesh-and-blood horses, rather than the hobby-horses of chapt.3, I take to be a Roman development, though such patterned rides logically form a part of the training of young equestrians, as they do in riding-schools even now.)

Versnel shows a Caeretane vase (fig.7) "where is portrayed a labyrinth with the word TRUIA, two horsemen leaving the labyrinth" and other figures "in dance formation," and adds "it has been suggested that both the *lusus Troiae* and the picture must be interpreted as ceremonial relics of a primitive ritual of initiation." I wonder if it would be reasonable to connect this initiation with the *Transvectio Equitum* of July 15, the *rite d'agrégation* into the Equestrian Order. This rite of passage is the high point in the life of *equites* who die young, before they have held office or done great deeds, as shown by grave-monuments depicting a boy, mounted, passing in revue at the moment of his acceptance into the Order. Lower scenes on these monuments show aspects of "forest" life: hunting and exercizes in a rural setting, presumably the pre-initiate stage the youth has just left. Paul Veyne wonders about "the connections between the ephebia and Roman education. What special formation did the young knights receive before their *probatio*? We know from Tacitus that they took part in the Trojan game; but what were the connections between these exercizes and those of the *juventus*? Not to mention the connections between the *juventus* and the *neoi*..." "Iconographie de la 'Transvectio Equitum' et des Lupercales," *REA* 62 (1960) 110-112, trans. mine.

not without a trace. The bean, always an offering to the dead and so closely connected with them that the flamen dialis may not even utter the word, is sacred to Mars. Mars is invoked along with the Lares by the *fratres arvale*, and indeed the Lares militares, as they appear on coins, look like the Salii, suggesting that the latter may originally have been earthly representations of the former[81].

4.6.2. Not to be separated from the *lupus Martius* is Faunus, the wolf as "choker."[82] In his train are the *Fauni*[83]. Faunus is the divine representation of ecstatic prophecy[84]. He is also *deus februarius*, the god of the Lupercalia, the festival of purification in preparation for the new year beginning in March. Ovid (Fast. 2. 268) calls the Lupercalia "Fauni sacra;" others call the feast sacred to Pan Lykaios or to Lupercus. But

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81. Von Schroeder, *Mysterium* 147. A spoiler might counter that, when portrait time came around, the Salier priest served as model for the Lar, whom no one had ever seen, attired or otherwise.

82. *Faunus* < **dhauno-*, a *-no-* formation from a root **dhau-*, Altheim, *Religion* 208ff; see 8.2 above.

83. Which the elder Pliny knew as demons of nightmare (NH 25,29) and Jerome knew as hairy demons; to which Holleman (following E.C.H. Smits, *Faunus*) adds that "the word 'pilosi' meaning 'hairy' or 'shaggy' belongs to the sphere of nightmare, since in popular belief in antiquity...nightmare is always associated with feelings of being strangled, mostly by some shaggy animal like the wolf." A.W.J.Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1974) 95f.

84. W.Otto, Religio 554, "oder die Mehrheit der Fauni, die deswegen auch 'fatui' 'die Schwatzenden' heißen..."

Faunus *is* Lupercus, and according to the *interpretatio graeca* he is identified with Pan Lykaios; this identification brings in the goat-wolf connection so prominent with the Luperci: whether or not they are "wolf-bucks," they are certainly wolves girded with goat-skin who perform their purificatory and fructifying ritual with whips cut from the skin of a buck which has been sacrificed at their feast. The Lupercalia are centered around the Palatine, more specifically around the Lupercal, the cave of the *lupa* who nurtured Romulus and Remus; it was thought to be an entrance to the netherworld. The Luperci, who came from the cave and returned to it, are the by now familiar wolf-masks who represent the dead[85].

Faunus is a mysterious god. According to interpretations which made of him an *Urkönig*, he was the son of Picus or even of Mars[86], thus

85. Holleman, Chapt.4 *passim.*, esp.98f.

86. Radke *Götter* 121; later he was totally "degraded" to demi-god, his Fauni classed with Satyrs, according to Wissowa 212. This is, of course, what had happened to Pan; but Arcadian Pan, if he was the same Wolf-god who became Zeus Lykaios and Apollo Lykeios, must also originally have been a more serious--a more powerful and more mysterious--god. Wissowa thought the by-name Silvanus had replaced Faunus. Holleman sees Faunus supplanted by a different name. "As far as we know there is only one inscription from [imperial] times calling Faunus by name: Fauno Aug(usto) sacr. (ILS 3580), which confirms that Faunus was incorporated into the imperial cult. But since more and more the emperors appeared to be inclined to assume the several aspects of the tutelary deity of Rome and its people...the name of Faunus must have become somewhat superfluous. It would seem that the name of Augustus tended to supplant it..." (167). Silvanus had taken on a life of his own, as by-names often do; it was he who was "degradiert."

a semi-divine ancestor-hero. Brelich identifies him as "'Heilbringer' or *heros civilisateur* or semi-divine and semi-human initiator; theriomorphic and skilled at shape-changing; forest-dweller; giver of halucinations and incubi; obscene seducer of women; bound by a singular relationship to the world of the dead, but founder of many important and vital human institutions, both technological, social, and religious..."[87] "So," concludes Holleman, "Faunus really is the mythical founder and ancestor of Rome itself, who may be called its 'Heilbringer', and about whom a great number of, often remarkably and surprisingly contradictory, traditions was in circulation."[88] I find Holleman's suggestion that Faunus might have been "a secret, or even the secret, protecting deity of Rome"[89] intriguing.

4.6.3. Veiovis (Vediovis, Vedius) had a temple on the Capitoline *inter duos lucos* which was a place of asylum, but both asylum and cult-place were much older than the second century temple, for Veiovis belonged to the oldest cult[90]. His statue, of cypress, showed him as a youth with

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87. He "is a figure whose precise interpretation is still a task to be accomplished, but one whose characteristics are...familiar to ethnologists." A.Brelich, *Tre variazioni romani*, 74, quoted in Holleman 165f., trans. mine. Note that this could easily have been a description of Odin (or of Odin + Loki).

88. Holleman 166.

89. Ib.170, referring to Brelich's later book, *Die geheime Schutzgottheit von Rom*.

90. Wissowa 236.

arrows in his hand, a goat at his side[91]. Ovid identified him as the youthful Jupiter (Fastes III, 445ff), but he was more commonly equated with Apollo[92]. He was, in fact, like the god of Soracte, identified both with Apollo and with *dis pater*, who displaced and finally replaced him[93]. A female goat was offered to him *ritu humano*; both the goat and the sacrifice on the ground belong to the cult of the dead[94].

Whatever the force of the first element of his name, *ve-*, the three forms attested "mark him clearly as the counterpart of *Diovis, Dius, Iovis*;"[95] in a formula preserved in Macrobius he is invoked together with

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91. "thus attaching itself to a well-known type of the Greek Apollo (cp. Gellius 5, 12, 12). This is the more important, because the cypress was not only the tree of death, but also stood in connexion with the god." Altheim continues, "If Veiovis...was assimilated to [Apollo], it reminds us of the fact that the god, who had Feronia as his consort on Soracte and to whom in conjunction with her the *hirpi Sorani* vowed their service, was later equated with Apollo." *HRR* 262f.

92. "Die komplexe Natur dieser Gottheit offenbart sich am deutlichsten auf den Denaren des Manius Fonteius: das Gesicht zeigt den Typus des Apollo entsprechend der Gleichsetzung des Vediovis mit diesem Gott; unter dem Kopf befindet sich der Blitz des Jupiter; auf der Rückseite reitet Amor auf einer Ziege--deren Verbindung mit Vediovis gut bezeugt ist--, über welche die Mützen und Sterne der Dioskuren zu sehen sind; im Abschnitt schließlich liegt ein Thyrsos." A. Alföldi, "Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik." *Museum Helveticum* 8 (1951) 200f.

93. Wissowa 237.

94. Radke, *Götter* 310.

95. Altheim, *HRR* 263.

the *di manes*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus interprets him as *Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος*[96]. He is thus a god with both "olympic" and chthonic features, the child Jupiter, but also "a fearsome ruler of the Underworld," "a noxious underworld demon."[97] "Die Verbindung von Juppiter und Apollo bei Veiovis kann durch die Koplexität archaischer Götterbegriffe erklärt werden, die zu einer Zeit geschaffen wurden, als heiter-himmlische und düster-jenseitige Aspekte der himmlischen Mächte noch nicht klar getrennt waren"[98]. The asylum of Romulus at the site of the later Capitoline temple must date at the latest to Apollo's acceptance at Rome, thus the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries, but it is probably much older: it may very well have been the original cult-place of the "Romulus" and "Remus" bands[99]. "Once again," says Altheim, "we meet that same power..., the wolf-god and the lord of the banished."[100]

9.7. *teutā-god and *koryos-god.

In the article "Hund, Wolf und Krieger," McCone argues that Mars

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96. Wissowa 237; Radke 310.

97. Andreas Alföldi, "Redeunt Saturna regna III: Juppiter-Apollo und Veiovis." *Chiron* 2 (1972) 218.

98. Ib.219.

99. "Denn die Misch-Volk-Romantik der Jünglingsbünde, wie wir sie aus Sparta und sonstwo kennen, war bei den Italikern der historischen Zeit durchaus noch lebendig." Ib.219.

100. Altheim, *HRR* 263.

was the *teutā*-god of Rome, and Quirinus was the *koryos*-god. Certainly Quirinus was no "third function" god. Mars himself had "agricultural" features, and, as we have seen, fructifying powers were attributed to the youthful bands and in many places continued to be attributed to them centuries after they had lost all military and religious significance. As proof that Quirinus was also a war-god McCone cites Dionysius and Polybius, who call him Enyalios; the fact that he, too, had Salii and *ancilia*; and that he was identified as the divinized Romulus by Cicero and others, thus with the *feroces iuvenes*[101]. Quirinus embodies "die kriegerische Tätigkeit des Junggesellenverbandes" and was therefore linked with Romulus, while Mars was above all the war-god of the state and its adult men, and patron of the young warriors whom the state sent out in the *ver sacrum*. The pair *Quirinus/Mars* would thus correspond to *Óðinn/Týr*, *Rudra/Indra*, probably also OIr. *Lug/Núadu*, and *Enyalios/Ares*[102]. "[D]ie schon bei Homer (Ἄρης δεινὸς Ἐνυάλιος, Il. 17,210-1) auftauchende Assimilation [Enyalios] an Ares wäre kein Wunder

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101. "z.B. wird er von Dionys (2,48,2) dem griechischen Enyalios gleichgestellt, taucht in Polybius' (3,29,6) Übersetzung eines Kriegsvertrages aus dem dritten Jahrhundert v.Chr. neben Juppiter (Ζεύς) und Mars (Ἄρης) als Ἐνυάλιος auf, ist Herr der heiligen Schilde oder *ancilia* neben Mars Gradivus (Livius 5,52,7: vgl. weiter die *arma Quirini* in Festus, S.238...) und wird von Cicero (*de Officiis* 3,41; *de Natura Deorum* 2,62) und anderen dem vergöttlichten Romulus gleichgestellt..." Hund 132.

102. "denn Enyalios' ursprüngliche Beziehung zu Jungmannschaften ist zum Beispiel immer noch im...spartanischen Ritus von Platanistas deutlich erkennbar..." Hund 133.

angesichts der frühen Beseitigung von wilden Junggesellenverbänden in vielen Teilen Griechenlands. Auch in Rom wurden derartige Vereine nach der frühen Periode auf Religion und Legende beschränkt und Quirinus' Rolle dementsprechend beeinträchtigt." "[Der] auf Quirinus und Mars verteilte Salierdienst erinnert an die schon erörterte Schwankung der Maruts zwischen Rudra und Indra und die unbeständige Haltung der Junggesellenverbände überhaupt."[103]

I agree completely with McCone concerning Quirinus. About Mars I have reservations, and although I believe he is right about Enyalios, we really know very little about this god: the god that we *see* in Greece in the role of wolf-god and leader of the youth bands is Apollo. And Versnel has shown how much Mars, underneath the beard and uniform, looks like Apollo: "the complexes of their characteristics and functions display such a close structural similarity."[104] Most compelling is the fact that the young warrior is the wolf, and the wolf-god is the god of the young-warrior bands. Mars is a wolf-god. Moreover he is more than *patron* of the *ver sacrum*: he leads the youths himself in animal form.

Regarding Mars' association with the various foundation myths, Rosivach suggests that "each community would have had its own tutelary deity who watched out for and protected his own people. Usually this deity would be called simply *Mars* (or some variant thereof) by his own people, while someone else's Mars would be specified by a local adjective (e.g. *Quirinus*). Eventually Rome's expansion in Italy led to the syncretic

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103. McCone, Hund 133. 104. Versnel 145.

identification of the other local Marses with, and then absorption by, the Roman Mars..."[105]

And in fact we are confronted with the beard and hoplite uniform. Mars is no *kouros*. Neither is Odin. In both cases one can posit that the youthful wolf-god has merged with the god of the *teutā*. In Odin's case it is clear that he has absorbed Týr. In Mars' case, perhaps we can conclude from the fact that Faunus, in some interpretations, is his son, that the mature god absorbed the wolf-god--or, more likely, many local wolf-gods. Would we be justified in seeing in Veiovis/Jupiter another of these pairs?[106]

9.8. *Un rite d'agrégation.*

The connection between these gods and initiations is clearest with Apollo and Mars. Where we actually see them in their capacity as initiator-gods is at the point at which the youths are going to be integrated into adult society and enrolled as citizens. The *Apellaia* and the Roman lustrum are such *rites d'agregation*[107].

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105. Rosivach 520.

106. Jupiter is the classical protector and evil-averter, and Mars became a war-god like Ares; I believe this is where the beard and hoplite uniform came from. Might Jupiter have been an/the original teutā-god?

107. This does not give cause for concluding that these gods were not equally active at the beginning of the boys' time in the *koryos*-bund; *rites d'separation* tend to be highly secretive affairs, conducted in out-of-the-way spots, usually in the forest, whereas *rites d'agrégation* are public matters.

A scene on the Gundestrup Cauldron shows a Celtic warrior initiation, as Jan de Vries was, I believe, the first to realize[108]. The picture shows a row of men on foot, bearing shield and spear and wearing some sort of cap, moving towards a large vat. An oversized figure has one such man in his hands and is in the process of putting him headfirst into the vat. Above the line of marchers, and separated from them by a horizontal plant, a row of four *mounted* warriors rides away from the vat, each wearing a helmet with a unique crest ornament; their clothing is also different from that of the marchers; going before them, at head level, is a serpent. Between the initiator and the row of marchers is a wolf. The marchers are followed by a man in a boar-crested helmet, carrying a staff-like object over his shoulder; behind him are three musicians blowing long, dragon-headed trumpets.

Here is what de Vries says: "Der Kessel bildet also gewissermaßen den Mittelpunkt eines geschlossenen Handlungsablaufs: Männer marchieren zum Gefäß, sie werden darin untergetaucht--der eine abgebildete Mann steht wohl abkürzend für jeden Krieger der Reihe--und als berittene Krieger ziehen sie wieder von dannen. Es ist viel an dieser Szene herumgedeutet worden, und alles bleibt rätselhaft, solange wir den Ritus

108. The scene had been interpreted as a human sacrifice to Teutates, but such an interpretation is possible, as de Vries pointed out, only if one fails to take the entire picture into consideration. The cauldron was found in Denmark but is obviously Celtic workmanship and dates from the second or first century BC, or perhaps even earlier, de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961) 47f. See also McCone, Hund 112.

und den Mythus nicht kennen, auf die das Bild sich bezieht. Es scheint mir wirklich verwegen, darin eine Wiederaufstehung aus dem Tode zu sehen. Zwar gehört das Pferd manchmal zum Totenreich und werden heroisierte Tote beritten dargestellt, aber nicht jeder Reiter braucht Abbild eines Toten zu sein. Man könnte vielmehr an eine Intitiation denken und dabei berücksichtigen, daß diese vielerorts als ein symbolischer Tod vorgestellt wird, der als Durchgangspunkt zwei Lebensphasen voneinander trennt. Dann könnten die Männer zu Pferde die neuen, als junge berittene Krieger auftretenden Mitglieder des Stammes bezeichnen. Die Figur, die sie nacheinander in das Gefäß hineintaucht, wäre dann der dabei amtierende Priester."[109] Earlier de Vries had queried regarding the initiator "ein Gott oder ein Priester?" In view of the enormous size of this figure--over twice the size of the warriors--I believe he represents the god.

McCone adds to this: "Der Stand der vor dem Faß stehenden Fußsoldaten, die mit Speer und Schild bewaffnet sind, wird von de Vries nicht besprochen. Da ein unverkennbarer Wolf als bezeichnendes Merkmal ihrer Reihe voransteht, liegt es angesichts der vorhergehenden Untersuchung nahe, daß sie als wölfischer Junggesellenverband oder **koryos* aufzufassen sind und daß die Gesamthandlung den rituellen Übergang vom **koryos* zur **teutā* schildert."[110]

Often we find in the life-story of a god or hero an episode which looks as if it were meant to give a paradigm of an actual ritual. We have no stories of the child Mars, but we do have three pictures of the little

109. De Vries, *KR* 47f. 110. McCone, Hund 113.

god undergoing what can only be a youth initiation. All three show him being immersed in, or withdrawn from, a large pot. In a cista from Praeneste a man-child, labeled "Mars," clad only in a helmet and bearing a lance and shield, is being lowered into, or lifted out of, a pot either of flames or boiling water by "Menerva;" the cista is dated late 4th century BC[111]. Two Etruscan mirrors, dated c.300 BC, show an infant "Maris," wearing only a necklace, being put into or raised from an amphora; the kourotrophic divinity is again Minerva[112]. My own guess is that the boy is being immersed, since one would not expect him to emerge from the process as an infant, but as de Vries said concerning the scene on the Gundestrup pot, it will all remain a mystery so long as we are ignorant of the rite or myth to which the pictures refer.

The scene from Gundestrup reminds McCone of the episode in the life of CuChulainn in which the returning hero is dunked in three successive vats of cold water to cool his warrior ardour, which is now a threat to his own people, "and to prepare the way for his acceptance back into the life of the tribe."[113] The CuChulainn story illustrates how greatly

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111. Versnel 147 (text), 170 (drawing).

112. Ib.147 & 171. The mirror from Chiusi has two Mars-infants, the one from Bolsena, three; they are unarmed and naked except for a necklace.

113. Hund 113; cf. Dumézil, *Horace et les Curiaces* 37f.; 44. The three pots in the CuChulainn tale may be more of the exaggeration of everything in the life of this hero. Or is there some significance to the three Mars-babies on the mirror from Bolsena?

the description of a ritual can be distorted; most notably, all reference to the *fían*-life, which would make this rite of passage meaningful, has been obliterated. "Trotz eines erheblichen Zeitabstandes sind die Szene auf dem Kessel und diese frühirische Erzählung wahrscheinlich auf denselben gemeinkeltischen rituellen und sozialen Gebrauch bezogen. Dabei diente die Tauchzeremonie wohl als Symbol nicht nur des Todes und der Wiedergeburt, sondern auch der Auslöschung von übermäßiger Hitze, um die Eingeweihten den neuen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen der **teutā* anzupassen."[114]

Certainly the symbolism of this pagan baptism works on many levels. Death of the boy, birth of the man, is one; the cooling off of the warrior's *tapas* is another. A third must be lustration, since the boy has done things in *marge* which men who live in society may not do. Then again, the youth of the **koryos* is a danger to the village quite apart from the warrior-fire within him, for he is sacred; he will have to be de-sacralized before he can again become a part of the ordinary world.

At the end of the process, the young man will leave the **koryos*, ending his allegiance to his **koryonos*, to serve his *regs* as a member of the **teutā*. At the same time, he ends his special relationship with the **koryonos*-god and makes the protector-god of the **teutā* his own. I believe we do have a written record of this rite; we will see it in chapter 12.

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114. McCone, Hund 114.

Part III. The Vrātyas.

Chapter 10. Warrior-brahmins.

Heesterman calls them warrior-brahmins; Hauer called them Krieger-Ekstatiker[1]. Both terms are appropriate. We have had occasion to refer to the vrātyas in several different contexts, always promising that they would have a chapter of their own. This is their chapter. But let us begin by reviewing what we have already seen.

The vrātyas were an oath brotherhood. In the summer, "the season of warriors," they went off on razzias, returning to their villages before the rains (7.5.2). They are often condemned as a lunatic, unsavory rabble, or as a pack of thieves; but their thievery, like their madness, was cultic, and their god, Rudra, was god of thieves (7.1). In great feasts such as the *Mahāvrata*, the participation of "trained singers, dancers, and weapons-bearers, who had been trained by special masters in the vrātya brotherhood," was deemed essential; indeed the divinized ancestors of the vrātyas had founded these rites (3.5). In both cult and myth they are closely associated with the Maruts (5.5.5.5). Often mentioned with them are women who may have been camp-followers, although some, at least, seem to have been cult prostitutes (8.2.3.2).

10.1. An oath-brotherhood.

Vrata is "oath." *Vrāta* is "troop," "band"--but not any troop or band. The word is always used in a cultic context; ancient writers

1. Heesterman, *Conflict* 126 (and Chap.8 passim); Hauer 2.

by an oath to a god."[2] *Vrāta* is used in the RV of the Maruts[3] and of the *thiasos* following the procession of sacrificial horses in RV 1.163 (182)[4]. derived it from *vrata*, oath: "*vrāta* indicates companions who are bound *Vrātya* is a member of a *vrāta*. A group of priests says (TS 1.8.10.2) "we have become the *vrātyāḥ* of Mitra, these have become all the *vrātāḥ* of Varuna"[5].

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2. Hauer 180.

3. "The Maruts seem to be the mythical prototypes of the vrātyas," Heesterman, "Vrātya and Sacrifice," *IIJ* 6 (1962) 17; 32. They "are considered by Baudh[ayana] as vrātyas," ib.7, n21.

4. All, man and beast, will be intimately involved with the ceremony. At the end of the troop are the priests, whose gilds are called vrāta in RV 9.14.2 (182). When Indra goes off to conquer he is accompanied by a great *vrāta*; he is exhorted as *bhadravrāta*, "von Glücksharen Begleiteter," and *mahāvrāta*, "von einer großen Schar begleitet." (183) Vrāta is used in RV 6.75.9 of the *pitaras* (die Väter): "Sie sind also (wohl nach ihrem einstigen Erdenleben [wie die Krieger in Walhall]) gedacht als eine fröhliche Tafelrunde bildend, voll tiefer Weisheit, kraftbegabt und in Genossenschaften kämpfend. Man hat dabei ohne Zweifel an die durch Eid- und Blutsbruderschaft verbundenen Kampfgenossenschaften zu denken, wie sie in den frühesten Epochen der Geschichte überall auftreten, bei den Primitiven zu Kriegergenossenschaften, im christlichen Bereich zu den Ritterorden sich entwickelnd und verfestigend. Eng verwandt mit diesen Scharen, die immer einen rituellen, 'heiligen' Charakter tragen und bei den religiösen Festen auftreten, sind die 'Scharen', die der mythologischen Gestaltung der Marut zum Anstoß und zum Vorbild gedient haben." (183f)

5. Heesterman, Vrātya 36 n102. Hauer quotes a certain Haradatta: "ein im Gelübde, d.h. im heiligen Werke Tüchtiger ist ein Vratya; derselbe wird auch Vrātya genannt. Dies ist ein Ehrenname." Further, "vratya in der Bedeutung 'durch ein Gelübde gebunden, jemandem (einem Gotte)

10.2. Vrātya clothing and weapons.

Vrātya clothing was black, the color of Männerbund apparel in Germania and Iran[6]. The vrātya wears, in addition, a sort of cape made of two animal skins sewn together; one source mentions sheepskins, but Falk thinks they must originally have been wolf skins, since they must be, here as elsewhere, the sign of transformation (3.3). We have seen the wolf-maskers of Yule and Carnival in sheepskins and the Luperci in their goatskins[7].

A third item is a cord which Falk believes is an ornamental belt and interprets as a symbolic bond[8]. The belt is another standard feature of

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verbunden, mit einem heiligen Werke verknüpft', findet sich schon in der ältesten vedischen Literatur" (179). We see the connection between vrata, vratya and vrāta, "denn vratya und vrāta sind in diesem Abschnitt doch im Grunde als Synonyme aufzufassen: vrāta bezeichnet die Genossen, die durch ein Gelübde an einen Gott gebunden sind" (180). Vratya/ vrātya can with equal ease be derived from either vrata or vrāta. (The a can apparently be either long or short, but it is in fact nearly always long.)

6. Germania: 4.1; Höfler *KGG* 36,43,45ff; Widengren, *Feudalismus* 51 & Iran ib 35. The Maruts are also pictured wearing black, as is Indra in *Mbh*.1.3.152, and with a black banner, like Aēšma (9.2), in 3.43.8, Willem B. Bollée, "The Indo-European Sodalities in Ancient India," *ZDMG* 131 (1981) 174 n13; Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 343.

7. As well as the goatskin-clad Hittite boy whose assignment was to howl incessantly like a wolf (8.2.3.2); and let us not forget the (magic) reindeer-skin clad vikings, Thorir the Dog and his band (7.6.1 & n.59). Sheepskins in the Hunt, Luperci, 7.5.1 & n.54.

8.Falk 22. "La ceinture de servage," Widengren, Ceinture 141 & *passim*.

Männerbund attire; let us call to mind the Finglesham man in his horned helmet and belt--and nothing else (5.5.3). The vrātyas wear two of these belts, their leader one: he is bound to his god, Rudra; they are twice-bound: to the god and to him[9]. The vrātya leader, the *gṛhapati*, wears a black turban[10] and carries an unstrung bow and a quiver with three arrows[11].

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9. Falk 23.

10. 19. Falk calls attention to the Wild Hunt, where only the leader wears a hat. The leader is, of course, Odin, whose hat, pulled down over his face so that it hides the missing eye, is such a requisite part of his dress that one of his by-names is *Höttr* (Hj. Falk 89). The leader of Hunt or Host in southern Germania is also known for his broad-brimmed hat ("Schlapphut") (*KGG* 77-79).

11. 24. *tiṣṛdhanva*, "Dreibogen." The related *vrātīnas* are all equipped with bows and arrows at their *Śyena* sacrifice; their leader's bow, too, is unstrung, but theirs are strung. The unstrung bows and the three arrows recall the *Śatarudriya*, in which Rudra is entreated to unstring his bow and throw his arrows away. The next half-verse indicates that the god has complied, displaying a non-menacing mien toward his worshipper (26). At the end of the litany the Rudras are worshipped whose arrows are food, wind, and rain; the bow with three arrows thus symbolizes peaceableness and plenty to eat (27), benefits which the brotherhoods, often aggressive and terrifying, can bring to the populus, as we have already seen. The *gṛhapati* travels in a wagon, evidently not a war-chariot but rather a kind of hearse (23), pulled by two draft animals; he carries a goad, which Hauer sees as the ancestor of Śiva's *triśula* (131). The wagon, and everything else, is loaded with symbolism which we cannot go into here. One often gets the feeling that the further the original significance of an item had slipped into oblivion, the more the symbolism was piled on. A wagon formed part of the accoutrements of the Furious Host: recall Woen's Wain and *reið rögnis* above 3.4,n35; also *KGG* 84-97.

10.3. Seasonal activities.

The paradigm of the vrātya razzia is the raiding expeditions of the Kuru-Pañcālas, of whom TB 1.8.4.1-2 reports that they took off in Śiśira (Jan.-Feb.), raiding towards the east, and returned in late summer[12]. We saw (7.2) the same seasonal rhythm in Ireland, where the fían spent the season from Beltine to Samain hunting and raiding. In Ireland we also saw that during precisely the other half of the year the student-poets were with their teachers. Knowing that skill in composing and reciting poetry was a prerequisite to joining the fían, we suspected a connection.

10.4. The *brahmacārin*.

In India we find that the studies of the Veda-students follow a rhythm which is exactly complementary to that of the Kuru-vrātyas: Between the summer and winter solstices the pupils study with their teacher; then there is a pause in their studies until the summer solstice[13].

We have seen the *brahmacārin*, or brahman-pupil, tapas-filled, in the ecstatic experience of flight ("He goes in an instant from the eastern to the northern sea") (5.5.1); we had seen him once before (4.6.2), ritually dead, in the filthy condition of the "Bearskin" character of the Grimm tales. Now it is time to look at him more closely.

10.4.1. The education of a brahman.

It began at the age of eight when the boy, newly bathed and with his head shaved, was brought to a teacher where, with a group of boys

12. Rau 102. 13. Falk 68.

his age, he began a twelve-year period as a consecrated Veda-student or *brahmacārin*. He was given new clothes, a belt, and an animal skin for his upper body. A year's probation was followed by seven years of study; then at sixteen he underwent an intermediate consecration, followed by four years in the wilderness (*āraṇya*). Now he was given black clothing and a turban. It was said: With the [initial] consecration, he saves himself. With the intermediate consecration, he saves the *prajá*, the creatures[14].

It seems there is nothing in the texts about warriors or military training or cattle raids. But with his black clothing, his turban, his skin cloak, and his life in the forest, this *vratacārin* looks like a vrātya[15]. Skins of any kind were not normal attire in India; they were worn only by the brahmacārin, the dīkṣita, and the vrātya[16].

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14. 66-68. Falk "Lebewesen;" traditionally translated "Nachkommenschaft," his descendants. 15. Ib. 68.

16. Falk 20f. We saw the *dīkṣita*, the consecrated soma-sacrificer, wrapped in an antilope skin, his head in a turban, sweating and fasting by his fire, attempting, by asceticism and self-torture, to be filled by *tapas-*, i.e. to achieve an ecstatic state (5.5.3). Heesterman has shown that the dīkṣita is the direct descendant of the vrātya; see Vrātya passim but esp. 11-15, 29; *The Broken World of Sacrifice* (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1993) 178f; both dīkṣita and sattrin evolved from vrātya, ib.182f; brahmacārin, dīkṣita, vrātya, *Conflict* 40f; dīkṣita and yāyāvara ("wanderer," [Moody's "go-getter" 69]) "Householder and Wanderer," *Way of Life. King, Householder, Renouncer,* T.N.Madan, ed. (New Delhi: Vikas, 1982) 256, 266; the conquering expedition of the dīkṣita/yāyāvara ib. 257.

10.5. The vrātyastoma.

It is told of the mythical vrātyas, the *daivā vrātyāḥ*, that when the gods went up to heaven, they were left behind. They "wander about not knowing the stoma [hymn, praise] and metre by which to reach heaven. Eventually the gods charge the Maruts with delivering the stoma and metre to the *daivā vrātyāḥ*, who thereupon reach the gods."[17] Apart from reaching heaven there are four occasions for performing the vrātyastoma sacrifice: at the beginning and end of the vrātya life, and at the beginning and end of a raiding expedition.

10.5.1. Vrātyastoma and sattra.

In many particulars, the Vrātyastoma resembles another kind of sacrifice, the sattra[18], although in classical times the vrātyastoma was a one-day rite, while the sattra is a rite of two or more days. Probing into all the literature in which the sattra is mentioned, Falk discovered that in its original form it was very different from its later form and from the way it is described in the ritual texts. The connection with the vrātyastoma then becomes clear. "Beide Opfer haben ihre Ursprünge im Ritual der Männerbünde. In der ältesten uns faßbaren Zeit gab es kein Sattra ohne nachfolgenden Auszug (*vrātyā*) und keine Vrātyas, die nicht als Sattrins begonnen hätte."[19] In both cases a group of men sacrifices

17. Heesterman, Vrātya 4.

18. The vrātyastoma compared to other sacrifices, Heesterman, Vrātya 3, texts 4f. Rudra, too, was left behind when the other gods went to heaven.

19. Falk 30. "Sattra-Opfer und Vrātya-Wesen trennten sich zur Brahmana-Zeit und durchliefen eigene Entwicklungen." 31

whose most important member is called *gṛhapati*. Just as the vrātyas are active in the cold season, so also the consecration (*dīkṣa*) for the sattra should take place in Śiśira (January and February)[20]. The ancient sattra was performed in the *āraṇya*, in a secret and inaccessible place[21].

10.5.2. Sattra.

In the mythical paradigm of the sattra, the seven Ṛṣis (seers)[22] appear frequently as celebrants; sometimes they are replaced by the Devas (gods). There was no guarantee that the sattra would be carried through to completion. Falk gives numerous examples of mythical sattras which threatened to miscarry. In some, the participants are assaulted by

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20. Falk 31.

21. Classical Soma-sacrifices normally take place on riverbanks, in public. One "walks" to them. One "creeps" to a sattra. "Creeping to the Sattra is necessary... because the sacrificers have settled down in an inaccessible, forested region"--in the *āraṇya*. A sattra was thus performed in secret; indeed some texts use the term in expressions meaning "to hide," and in one place as a synonym for "forest" (33f). [It actually comes from the "sit" root: sattra-, n. <*sad-tra- (Schlerath, *Vocab*. 196). One sits a sattra.] "Auch aus dem *śrauta*-Opfer ist ein *prasarpaṇa* [a creeping towards] bekannt, wobei die Priester im Gänsemarsch in gebückter Haltung über den Opferplatz schleichen und jeder sich an der Kleidung des Vordermanns festhält....Der *prasarpaṇa*-Ritus im *śrauta*-Ritus ist nichts als pantomimischer Nachvollzug eines einstmals unbequemen Ganges durch Unterholz." (34) Goosens remarks on the uneven, creeping movement of "Rudra le Variku," suggesting the stalking movements of a beast of prey, which he wants to connect with the Apollo epithet λόξιας, Gregoire, et. al. 138ff; recall also the κοῦροι creeping on the Chiggi vase, Vidal-Naquet 119 and fig 1, p121.

22. The Ṛṣis are sages, seers, and poets. They are *manes*, *Väter*--human men who lived at the very beginning of creation.

questions (riddles?) from outsiders: if they cannot answer, the sacrifice cannot go forward. The Devas were about to fail for this reason, when the answer was brought to them by a serpent-Rsi. Sometimes the sacrifice was halted, not because of harassment from outside but because the celebrants themselves lacked a verse; this happened to the Aṅgirases[23] twice during one sattra. "In all these cases the Sattrins lack the right words for a time. Had they been able to see[24] them themselves the sacrifice would have gone to completion without a hitch....[I]n the AV the Ṛṣis are always connected with the notion of *sattrá*, and Ṛṣis are precisely those beings who are able to formulate the Ṛcas, the verses of the Ṛgveda."[25]

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23. "Die Aṅgiras sind die halb-göttlichen Vorfahren der späteren Priestergeschlechter: 'unsere Väter die Aṅgiras', 'unsre alten Väter die Aṅgiras', 'die Brahmanpriester die Aṅgiras'; sie haben 'die erste Satzung des Opfers ersonnen'; sie haben als Begleiter des Indra durch ihre priesterlichen Gesänge den Felsen, welcher die Kühe umschloß, zerbrochen" Oldenberg 127.

24. Cf. the Ṛṣis as seers and poets (n23), and note the wilderness, the "forest" (*āraṇya*) as the place of revelation.

25. Falk 35. The goal of a sattra was the winning of cows and horses. According to the AV even the Ṛṣis acquired cows by means of a sattra. The sattra is undertaken in Śiśira when the cattle are thin and scruffy--also "the typical appearance of the Dīksita" (36). In other words, in ancient times the dīkṣita did not become thin through purposeful fasting, but because he, like the cattle, went hungry in the cold season. Here the sattra and the vrātya razzia come together: the vrātyas consecrate themselves as a group and go off to get food.
This preoccupation with cattle is reflected in the hymns of the Ṛgveda, where the poet's pursuit of new verses and the warrior's pursuit of cattle

10.5.3. Daksinā.

Normally a priest sacrifices on behalf of one or more patrons; they profit from his *brahman-*, which can gain them divine favors, and for this they give him a *daksinā*, usually in the form of cows. But the sattrins

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are like two sides of the same coin. At this stage the warrior goes off on a razzia to win cattle which he will give as *dakṣinā*--a gift/payment--to the poet-officiant who sacrifices on his behalf and by the power of his *bráhman*--his sacred speech, i.e. by his ability to compose hymns--will gain favors from the gods for his patron and himself. The hymns set up a symbolic equivalence between the word of the poet-officiant and the cow; the poet's word is assimilated to the cow which he wins by snatching it from his rival thanks to his *bráhman*. "It is thus as a consequence of a rationalization, in putting on the same plane the means (word) and the stake which that means allows [the poet-officiant] to get (cow), that the hymns create the metaphor which has often perplexed readers." Boris Oguibenine, "Le Symbolisme de la razzia d'après les hymnes vediques." *Études Indo-européens* 5 (1983) 7. The mythic paradigm is the relationship of Indra and the Aṅgirases (n24): the Aṅgirases are poets and work with chants, while Indra, warrior and patron, pays them as *dakṣinā* the cows which he frees (Oguibenine 8). The hymns, and the later ritual texts, are rationalizations of a by-gone age. The hymns reflect, and the texts refer back to, the heroic past. This explains the poets' and ritualists' fascination with the chariot. Falk's description of mythical sattras could leave the impression that riddles from hecklers was about as bad as it got. In fact the rival mentioned above was real. His reflex is the ritual reviler (Heesterman, *Conflict* 75-79, 148-153). But the attacks were not merely verbal. Gangs raided the sacrifices of their rivals, making off with the offering, sometimes killing the *gṛhapati* (Rau 19; Heesterman *Conflict* 84-87, esp. 85; the dīkṣita's "begging-tour" pushes the boundary between begging and taking, ib. 92f, "Opferwildnis und Ritual-Ordnung," *Epiphanie des Heils*, Gerhard Oberhammer, Hrsg. [Wien: Sammlung de Napoli, 1982] 20-22). This state of things, which is documented for early India (see esp. Rau, *Stadt und Gesellschaft*) recalls the raid on Romulus and Remus' sacrifice and Remus' subsequent stealing of the *exta*, see 8.2.3.2a, n68.

performed their own sacrifice, and so there was no need for a *dakṣinā*. Nevertheless, Falk writes, there was indeed a *dakṣinā*: the *gṛhapati* offered himself. Falk reads in the ritual language that at one time this offering entailed a genuine self-sacrifice and that the man was eaten by his comrades[26]. It must be stated that Heesterman reads the same passages and takes them as metaphorical[27]. But from what we know of cannibalism in the rites of the Männerbünde[28], and of human sacrifice in

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26. Falk 36ff.

27. Heesterman, Vrātya 25 & n70. Falk adds, "Selbstverbrennung war als Teil der Sattras bekannt, wurde aber soweit es ging von der *śrauta*-Orthodoxie durch allerhand Substitute unterlaufen." And then in a note, "Darunter [i.e. *śrauta*-orthodoxy] verstehe ich die Gruppen von Brahmanen, die es fertigbrachten, die einzelnen Opfer in einer Hierarchie zu ordnen, im Agnistoma zu formalisieren und alles Anrüchige, Wilde, den Bruderschaften Zugehörige zu eliminieren oder durch Ersatzhandlungen zu zivilisieren."

28. Przyluski was certainly correct in seeing this ritual cannibalism as the means of attaining the ecstatic state, Confréries passim, esp. p 145; see above 5.6.
At this stage, the ecstasy of the warrior cannot be separated from the ecstasy of the poet. "Das Sattra verfolgte einst als Ziel die Schöpfung von Dichtung und entstammt damit derselben Tradition, welcher die Sūktas [stanzas] des RV ihre Entstehung verdanken." (Falk 36)
But whereas ritual cannibalism persisted into the historical period in Iran and in some Śiva sects until the British put an end to it, the ritual texts which point to the eating of a man are all about substitutes for human flesh. As one text (KS 34.11) puts it, "Those who perform the 12-Day-Sacrifice eat a human being, as is well-known" (38). (The 12-day sattra is the basic form, 32).
In *Hochgottglaube* (331-5) Widengren cites passages from Vendidad

India up to the time of British rule, Falk's theory does not seem far-fetched.

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describing the cannibalistic habits of the Daēvas and their worshippers. "Daēva-worshippers" is the *terminus technicus* for Männerbündler. They come together at gravesites in the night and feast on corpses, according to the thoroughly hostile Zoroastrian source. As certain as we are that these rites took place, we can be equally certain that they were rites and no ordinary eating. Ritual cannibalism, and ritual murder, continued in certain Śiva-sects well into the historical period. Widengren refers to "well-known" sect of the Aghorī or Aghorapanthī, Śiva-ascetics, possibly still existing in 1938. They meet at gravesites and eat corpses, and in this custom are following the example of their god. This strikes me as something different from the Männerbund ritual.

More interesting is the custom reported by Severine Silva in "Traces of Human Sacrifice in Kanara," *Anthropos* 50 (1955) connected with the Dusserah (Dasarā, s. 11.3.2 below) festival at the close of the monsoon season, around September. This was the most solemn festival of these people. Its chief feature was a human sacrifice. "The sacrifice took place outside the temple. There, on a stone located at a prominent place, the victim's neck was cut with a sword and the blood gushed forth. All the warriors stood around watching the ceremony, and when the blood poured out each took a drop of it and applied it to his forehead." On the following day the warriors started out from home "for the military camps. They were away from home for the whole of the fair season." "With blood spattered round about him the warrior marched out of his house to slaughter the enemies of his people." The British put an end to these sacrifices in 1799, "but their memory has not yet faded away" (579).

This was a public ritual, not the secret rite of a Männerbund, and there was no cannibalism, yet one feels that it preserved the memory of the need for human sacrifice when warriors came together as a group at the beginning of the war season. Other customs connected with this feast in this region plainly go back to rites of the Männerbünde and their god Rudra (s. below).

The fact that the sacrificial victim was "generally some poor, uncared-for man" who "may have been kidnapped or cajoled into coming and then seized" shows that the rite had already lost most of its force, as does the

10.5.4. Vrātyas and sattrins.

What we have seen so far is this: At about the time of the winter solstice a group of veda-students sacrifices together as sattrins and goes forth as vrātyas to gather the fruits of their sattra. Their leader has offered himself; he is not killed, but from the moment of his self-offering he counts as having died. "Als Grhapati der Vrātyas zieht er, rituell tot, mit seiner Schar durch das Land."[29]

The brahmacārins who spent the half-year from the winter to the summer solstice on vrātya expeditions were those of the older group, that is, the sixteen to twenty-year-olds. Did every sixteen-year-old undergo the intermediate consecration? Or were there some who, because they showed no talent for composing verses, ended their training early? And what is meant by the saying that with the intermediate consecration the youth saves the creatures, the *prajāh*? We do not know how many youths went through the intermediate consecration and beyond, or what became of them if they did not. The answer to the last question will have to wait until we have had a look at the vrātya god.

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sacrifice of an infant to Zeus Lykaios in historical times in Arcadia (Jeanmaire 559f), since newborn infants of slave women were regularly exposed. Even though the child was eaten, this is a far cry from the sacrifice of a warrior in his prime–and it was mixed in a pot with other meat, a further attenuation of the rite. S. also Burkert, *HN* 105.

29. Falk 40. The śyena sacrifice of the related Vrātīnas, described in detail in Hauer 195-198, also takes place out in the forest and is replete with the imagery of death; in the śyena rite is something not mentioned for the vrātyastoma or sattra: the wild, ecstatic frenzy under the influence of *manyu*, rage (cf. *μένος, μαίνομαι*).

Chapter 11. Rudra.

Rudra is an extremely complex character who has elicited a great deal of learned scrutiny. In the Ṛgveda, only three hymns, and part of a fourth, are to him (1.114, 2.33, 7.46; 1.43.1-6), and he is mentioned not more than seventy-five times. Nevertheless he is the most strongly characterized of the Vedic gods[1]. In the RV he is youthful (2.33.11), with beautiful lips (5) and braided hair (1.114.1,5); he shines like the sun, or like gold (1.43.5), and is adorned with shimmering gold (2.33.9); he sits on a chariot-seat (2.33.4) "and seems to be intended when Indra is compared with the archer on the car-seat (6.20.9)" (*VM* 74). He is the Archer-god and like Apollo Smintheus can shoot plague-arrows, but, again like Apollo, he is the best of healers[2]; and so Rudra is begged not

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1. R.N.Dandekar, "Rudra in the Veda." *Journal of the Universtity of Poona* 1 (1953). "Weak characterisation of gods is generally mentioned as a peculiar feature of Vedic mythology.... Rudra possesses a distinct individuality of his own, which clearly bears the stamp of concreteness about it. Indeed for a god who cannot be said to have played any significant role in the hierarchical Vedic mythology and ritual there are given in the Veda perhaps more particulars about Rudra's personality and character than would normally be expected." 95

2. "*...un dieu tour à tour meurtrier et médicin, un dieu dont l'arc est l'arme preférée, dont les flèches procurent les morts subites, les épidémies, les épizooties.*" p.132, Henri Grégoire, *Asklèpios, Apollon Smintheus et Rudra*, 1949; esp. part II, by R.Goossens, on Apollo and Rudra. This is an amazingly insightful study, especially considering how young as a field of study this whole complex of the Männerbund and the initiator-god was at that time. Even Versnel, whose comparison of Apollo and Mars is so brilliant, had to attribute some aspects of Apollo, notably the plague-sender and healer, to "oriental influences." Goossens'

to kill his worshippers, not to slaughter them or their children or their cattle, but rather to come, "holding in his hand the healing medicines" (1.114.5) and to grant protection, shelter, and food. Above all, the singer begs him not to become angry, as might happen if someone were to invoke him insincerely (2.33.5) or together with another god (2.33.4), but when he has been well-praised, "O Rudra, have mercy on the singer now that you have been praised. Let your armies strike down someone other than us" (2.33.11). In later writings he is even more frightful: his

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study shows that this was an ancient IE feature. I agree with Goossens' suggestion that Asklepios was a hypostasis of Apollo, or perhaps even an epithet. It seems to me, since it is clear that Apollo was a koryos-god, that when he moved "inside" he shed his daemonic aspect, bequeathing to his "son" the healing, but also the killing (Goosens 130), features; to Dionysos the ecstatic and unpredictable; and to his little brother Hermes the link with death and a miscellany of others, to include a low form of mantic art (which he had gotten from some witches, as opposed to the high art of prophecy, which was a gift from father Zeus), and the feature of *paśupati*, which the youngster certainly deserved since he was cattle rustler κατ' ἐξοχήν! This is all spelled out in the Hymn. What is left is the squeaky clean Apollo we all know, with even the wolf turned to light: a less spooky god, to be sure, than Rudra or Odin, but also (despite the light) duller.

We never see Odin as plague-sender--for one thing, he is no archer--but we do meet him as healer in the 2. Merseburger Spruch. This is not much, but we do not have in Germania the reams of written matter available to indologists and classicists. Karl Hauck has reasonably explained some of the highly stylized decorations on the coins and other small artifacts he has been studying for some forty years as Odin in the magic act of healing. Goossens was sure Odin was at base a god like Apollo and Rudra.

belly is black and his back red[3] (AV 15.1.7-8); he has a thousand eyes (AV 11.2.2,7) (*VM* 74). "According to the *Aitareya Brāhmana*... Rudra is the compound of all terrible substances, while the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* tells us...that even gods are afraid of him."[4]

11.1. Rudra's armies.

Rudra has been called storm-god, mountain-god, death-demon, someone/thing that "sits and spooks"[5]. Von Schroeder came closest to the truth in seeing in Rudra "einen hervorragend wichtigen Typus von Göttern, welche als Oberste und Führer der Schaar abgeschiedener Seelen...zu gewissen Zeiten des Jahres...an der Spitze jener Schaar in

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3. The colors of death.

4. Dandekar 95. "Rudra's name is never directly mentioned. According to the *Ait. Br.* III 34.7, a particular Ṛgvedic *mantra* must be recited to avoid the evil consequences of such a mention" (n1). He is referred to as "that god" (*ayam devaḥ*). "Ich kann hier die Vermutung nicht unterdrücken, daß Rudra doch vielleicht hie und da im RV vorkommt, obwohl man ihn aus mehreren Gründen nicht erkannt hat. Sein schrecklicher Name war vielleicht etwas, das man überhaupt nicht gern aussprach...Kann vielleicht der berühmte Hymnus an *Ka*, RV 10.121...unter diesem Gesichtspunkt beurteilt werden?" (Charpentier, Rudra-Śiva 152f,n1). I believe this was once true of Odin as well and is the reason that we find so few names--place names or personal names--formed with his name, and is also why "The oath which had to be taken before entering a law-suit at the Icelandic allthing was pronounced in the name of Freyr, Njord and 'hinn almátki Áss'" (Jan de Vries, "*Contributions to the Study of Othin, Especially in his Relation to Agricultural Practices in Modern Popular Lore. FFC* #94, Vol.33 [1931] 46).

5. Respectively: the old communis opinio; Oldenberg; Arbman; R. Otto.

wildem Zug durch die Luft über das Land hinjagen. Ihre Gestalt ist von allen wilden Schrecken des Todtenreiches umgeben, gleichzeitig aber waltet die Vorstellung, daß der Zug des Seelenheeres...Gedeihen und Fruchtbarkeit schafft in der Vegetation, wie auch im Viehstand und unter den Menschen."[6] By the time he wrote *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (1908), von Schroeder had reached the conclusion that these "Schaaren" also stormed across the land on the ground at certain times of the year, made present by mortal men, in ancient times, just as they still did in his own time in German lands.

He was absolutely right, of course, and Höfler only took him one step further in connecting this *Mimus* with the military-cultic brotherhoods of Africa and elsewhere. I can do no better, in introducing a sketch of Rudra, than to quote what Höfler wrote about Odin: "Ich glaube, daß uns sein vielumstrittenes Wesen erst faßbar wird, wenn wir ihn als **Gott der ekstatischen Männerbünde** sehen...erst da wird er zur Gestalt."[7]

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6. Bemerkungen 238.

7. *KGG* 324.
If the "traditional" derivation of Rudra's name from the root *rud-*, "cry," "howl" (*ER* 8) is correct, this could be a *canis*-name ("the Howler") like some of the others we have seen (8.3), or, like Odin-names such as Ómi or Vingnir, it could refer to the cries of an ecstatic--not, in any event, the howling of the stormy wind.
But if the name Rudra is related etymologically to *ródas-*, *ródasī*, "dessen Singularbedeutung 'Erde' gewesen sein mag," and to Latin *rudis* "wild, uncultivated," and *"rullus* 'bäurisch', das, wenn aus **rudlo-* stammend, mit *Rudrá-* ('der Wilde, Rohe') identisch wäre" (*KEWA* III 66), this would place him squarely in the *āraṇya-*, the uncultivated wilderness

If we are right, we should be able to find associated with Rudra most, if not all, of the traits we identified in the last chapter as belonging to this kind of god. Some, if we do not find them in Rudra, we will find in Śiva, and if not in the Śiva of the epics and early Hinduism, then in the Śiva of folk religion. We know that very archaic traits can turn up in later writings and rituals, so we are entirely justified in going outside the Vedas to complete our picture of this god. Any traits we do not find in the god himself we will find associated with his "Schaaren."

11.1.1. *Ganapati.*

Several of Rudra's many epithets characterize him as leader of troops. He is *ganapati*, lord, or master, of troops; *vrātapati*, master of a cult-band (10.1); *bhūtapati*, master of beings (or "lord of ghosts,"[8] cf. Odin as *draugadróttinn*). He is leader of the daemonic host, and "master of the entire demon-world."[9] Inherently associated with the demon-world, he "is thereby clearly isolated from other major Vedic gods."[10]

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beyond the habitations of men, where the *sattra* is performed and the *brahmacārin*, ritually dead, lives in filth--and that, as we shall see, is equally appropriate.

8. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths* (London: Penguin, 1975) 27.

9. Arbman 117.

10. Dandekar 102.

11.1.1.1. The *rudras*.

There are "countless thousands" of rudras (*Śatarudriya* 10); like their leader they have bows and arrows and "attack man and beast with disease and death" (*VM* 76). They are found on earth and in the air, sitting at crossroads and on dung-heaps, but also in trees and in drinking-cups: they are everywhere. Since Rudra himself is ubiquitous it is not always clear whether one has to do with a rudra or with the god himself[11]. They seem to be pictured thus, spooking singly, but also as a troop, *gana, śardha*.

Bhūta means simply "being, creature;" the term is used in a double sense: demons generally, that is "divine beings of a lower order," and "evil beings."[12] In the epics they are "creepy, cannibalistic, and bloodthirsty beings. They follow the army, greedy for blood."[13] There are female spirits in Rudra's following as well, "Lärmerinnen, Fortschafferinnen, Zischerinnen, Fleischfresserinnen"[14] bringers of death

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11. The Śatarudriya enumerates several classes of rudra, e.g. *bhava-, śarva-*, which bear by-names of the god. They represent "die unbestimmte Menge der Teilerscheinungen von Rudras eigenem Wesen" (Gonda, *RI* 88). At the end (64-66) the ŚR actually accounts for 150 rudras in three divisions of 5x10. "Das TĀ (5.8.4) unterscheidet neben Göttern, Verstorbenen und Menschen als vierte Wesensklasse die Rudras" (Gonda, *RI* 87). Elsewhere there are purported to be eight or (later) eleven rudras, each having a name (O'Flaherty, *Myths* 351). Eleven is an important number in the Śiva cults of the Deccan; see the articles by Sontheimer.

12. Arbman 179.

13. Ib. 171.

14. *RV* 4.19,4 in Gonda, *RI* 86.

and sickness to man and beast. Śiva makes his sometime son Skanda commander (*senāpatī*) over the army of the gods (*Mbh.*9.46 .46), which is in large part a collection of demons of all sorts, including female demons[15].

The tenth stanza of the *Śatarudriya* is a litany for warding off every conceivable sort of rudra. Where all these beings come from is anyone's guess. A god with a demonic following--taking demon in the sense given above, the manes, i.e., the good dead, are demons--will attract more of the same, just as Wodan as Wild Hunter inevitably collected the souls of unbaptized babies and other unfortunates of Christendom. The most important rudras are the Maruts.

11.1.1.2. The Maruts.

The Maruts are a subset of the rudras; they are always together as *gana, mahāgramá, vrāta* or *śardha*[16]. "Die Marut...haben durchaus den Charakter einer reisigen Schar. *grāma* und *grāmanī* erscheinen neben *senā* und *senānī* in militärischer Funktion."[17] They are often called rudras

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15. *EM* 227; Arbman 215ff.

16. "termes mal déterminables, mais qui concourent à souligner l'aspect grégaire des M[aruts]" Louis Renou, *Études védiques et pâninéennes* X (Paris: Boccard, 1962) 2. "*Gana* is used in the *Ṛgveda* mainly for the host of the Maruts, in Kātyāyana of the Vrātyas. In the Pali *Vinaya* it is the technical term for a body or chapter of monks and with the Jains for a single group of monks." Bollée 184.

17. Rau 100.

in the RV and sometimes Rudriyas. They are Rudra's sons[18]; Rudra is invoked as "Father of the Maruts" at the opening of RV 2.33 and 1.114.6&9, and they are invoked with him in 1.114.11 and alone in 2.33.13. The RV has thirty-three hymns to them alone, seven with Indra, one each with Agni and Pūṣan. They are shining, brilliant, golden; they are fires, or they are bright like Agni. They wear golden mantles and ornaments of gold, and they travel in war-chariots. In all this they resemble their father in his brighter moments. Sometimes they are armed with bow and arrows and are called archers, but the lance is their usual weapon, and they are especially associated with lightning[19]; they have "les lances pour éclairs."[20] In this they resemble Indra, with whom they are principally associated[21].

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18. Their mother was a cow. There are other suggestions as to their parentage, but Rudra and Pṛsni the cow are cited most often by far.

19. "Lightning is so characteristic of them that all the five compounds of *vidyut* in the RV are connected with the Maruts and, excepting a single instance, with them alone" (*VM* 78f).

20. RV 1.168.5, Renou.

21. *Indrāmarutaḥ* is the only dvandva with the name of the Maruts (Renou 2). Wikander wondered why Indra led the Maruts: "Es ist ganz natürlich, Rudra mit den Marut's als den Bundesgott mit dem coelesten Männerbund zu fassen: warum aber Indra den Rudra eben als Führer des Männerbundes zurückgedrängt und im RV fast ganz ersetzt hat, diese Frage dürfte weitausholende Untersuchungen über die Indra-Mythen nötig machen. Wenn nämlich die Beziehung zwischen diesem größten Gott des vedischen Pantheons und den Marut's so intim sind, so müssen sie m.E. auf sehr wichtige rituelle Beziehungen zurückgehen" (*AM* 79). Somewhat later he writes, "Indra ist ja der Götterkönig, um ihn scharen sich die

11.1.1.2.1. A troop.

As troop they are also *senā*, an army; they are "'la pointe des armées divines', *devasenānām ágram* 10.103.8."[22] They are pictured as Indra's companions and helpers; they bestow upon him strength and joy, and they are invited to drink soma in company with him. But, Renou points out, "the Maruts hardly ever participate in Indra's exploits; they are mentioned only in a conventional manner in the Indra cycle, just as in the Marut cycle Indra scarcely holds a privileged place"[23]. It is important to note this fact, for scholars often want to separate them from their father, Rudra[24]. It is true that we do not see him going about with

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Marut's als seine Untertanen oder auch nächste Gefolgschaft. Man könnte sich denken, daß in diesem Verhältnis sich die politischen Aspekte der Männerbünde reflektieren, wie in dem Verhälnis zu Rudra ihre religiös-extatischen" (80).

22. Renou 2n. 23. Ib. 2. Indra is the *marutvant* par excellence, and there are triads, presumably indicating a ritual provenance, dedicated to the pair Indra-Maruts, but there is no allusion to Vṛtra in the hymns to the Maruts (or "only once or twice in dubious conditions, in Pan...and Vala...") Renou 2, n2. It seems, in fact, "that the Maruts avoid participating personally in the struggle against the demons or the rebels." 10

24. E.g. Dandekar: "A critical study of the character of the Maruts and their association with the other Vedic gods would...clearly produce the impression that their association with Rudra must have been but short-lived" (98). Dandekar goes on to conclude that "The Rudras and the Maruts were originally distinct classes of beings" (103). Like Arbman, whom he does not cite, he divides the hosts of Rudra into three classes and, again like Arbman, presents a complicated schema of shifting associations, but, again like Arbman, he is not consistent throughout.

them, but there is no question that they were thought to be present with him in the two Rudra-hymns mentioned above. And far from being sparkling little weather-spirits, they have their dark side, too. In fact, they display exactly the polarity we have come to expect of the Männerbund.

11.1.1.2.2. The Maruts are both like and unlike Rudra.

In the hymns of the seventh mandala of the RV, Wikander points out, the Maruts are portrayed "ganz wie Rudra als rächende, zürnende, in ihrem Charakter unberechenbare Götter."[25] Compare, he says,

7.56.17cd May that bolt of yours which kills cattle and men, be far from us! Incline to us, O Vasus, with your favours.

or

7.57.4 May your shining thunderbolt be far from us, O Maruts, whatever sin we may commit against you, men as we are: O worshipful, let us not fall under its power, let your best favour rest on us.

(Müller)

with the words from the Rudra-hymns quoted in section 11.0 above.

A striking difference between the Maruts and their father is that they partake of the Soma-sacrifice, together with Indra or Agni, an honor from which Rudra is excluded. They also, however, receive sacrifices which are appropriate only for demons: when the cow for the Mitra-Varuna sacrifice is pregnant, for example, the raw foetus is offered to the

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25. *AMB* 70.

Maruts[26]. Arbman notes, too, that the Maruts are often pictured as birds, and that otherwise only the Pitaras (*manes*) or demons are pictured in this form[27].

Dandekar, noting this as well as ways in which sacrifices to the Maruts resemble sacrifices to the *pitars*, and the reference in RV 7.58.1 "to the effect that the Maruts were originally associated with *nirṛti* and were only later raised to heaven from the region of death," rightly concludes that the Maruts "originally represented the spirits of the dead." But since he insists on regarding Rudra as a "popular pre-Aryan god" who was principally "the god of death," he has to deny the inherent,

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26. Arbman 309; Dandekar points out "that *garbha* is always regarded as dangerous and is, therefore, not normally offered in sacrifice" 120 N4. "[T]he Maruts, among the gods, are the eaters of non-sacrificial offerings." Regarding the foetus "the Kānva recension of the [Ś] Brāhmana says: 'Common people are eaters of raw flesh and the Maruts are common people.'" (120) The Maruts are Indra's *viś* (Renou 1). But we are harking back to a time before the *vaiśya* were common people in the belittling sense in which the commentator used the term (e.g. ŚB III.3.2.8 "the common people being the nobleman's food," i.e. they exist for the purpose of being exploited). According to Staal (*Agni* 123) and Rau (60f), the term referred to free farmers, quite capable of taking up arms in defense of their herds (or their heads! Heesterman, *Conflict* 56), at a time before the caste system, when the social structure was roughly ruling-class/ others, "the nobility ruled by no means absolutely over the third estate" (Rau 60) and still fluid. Rau calls the Maruts the "göttliche Widerbilder der *vaiśya*" (100). I expect it began to seem that way after the memory of the Männerbünde had faded. (**Koryos*-bündler ate raw flesh; though I daresay only demons ate foetuses.)

27. 309. Back when the gṛhapati of the vrātya/sattrins was sacrificed and consumed (10.5.3), he became a bird (Falk 38).

organic relationship[28].

Rudolf Otto phrased it this way:

> Aus der nirṛiti sind sie aufgestiegen. Die nirṛiti ist aber der Inbegriff alles numinosen Grauens. Nicht Söhne des Himmels sind sie, sondern Söhne des Grauens. Sie sind und heißen ihrem eigentlichen Wesen nach immer und immer wieder rudra's. Und als sich über der wilden Schar der rudra's durch numinose Affinität der **eine** Rudra erhoben hatte, da sind sie die Söhne und die Mannen des Rudra. Mit ihm fahren sie. Sein Heer bilden sie. Durch tveshya, d.h. durch Grausen geschah ihre Bildung. Und ihr Wesen wird bezeichnet durch tuvimanyavas, "Erzwütige', was genau dem Namen der westlichen Schar der wod entspricht. Oder sie heißen...die [saṃtāpanās], die Söhne der Glut. Durch die Cölisierungstendenz des Rig Veda ist ihr ursprüngliches Wesen verdunkelt worden. In den gana's, die Rudra, der gana-īśvara, als unheimliche Schar immerfort um sich hat, und denen sie deutlich entsprechen, bricht ihr urspüngliches rudra-Wesen wieder durch[29].

Wikander then takes it further: "der ganze Mythenkomplex Rudra--Rudra's--Marut's [lässt] sich ungesucht als ein organisch zusammenhängendes Ganzes erklären..., wenn man ihn als den mythologischen Niederschlag des Kultus des arischen Männerbundes fasst."[30] Further:

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28. 120f. Dandekar devotes two sentences to Wikander, one each to *AMB* and *Vayu*. He seems to regard everyone writing in German as a curiosity (even Arbman, whom he often tracks). D's article "Rudra in the Veda" is full of good information, but because he is determined to end where he starts, with the premise that Rudra is un-Aryan, he refuses to consider the compelling analogies with other IE gods, especially Wodan and the Furious Host, presented by European scholars.

29. *Gottheit* 40f.

30. *AMB* 71.

"Als Rudra's Gefolge treten [im ŚR] die verschiedensten Gestalten auf, die nur das gemeinsam haben können, daß sie verschiedene Aspekte der primitiven religiösen Genossenschaften vertreten: die Ähnlichkeiten mit den Schilderungen der wilden Jagd und des wilden Heeres im europäischen Volksglauben sind auffallend." And yet further: "Die Marut's reflektieren eben den kriegerischen Aspekt, den die Männerbünde bei den arischen Stämmen der Wanderungs- und Eroberungszeit vorzugsweise entwickelt hatten."[31]

11.1.1.2.3. The Maruts as **koryos*.

The Maruts' best-attested function is that of Rain-bringer. We have seen that the fructifying aspect of the Furious Host is so prominent that it survives long after the military-religious aspects of the brotherhoods have been long forgotten, and that the weapons-dances belong to these fertility rites; we have seen the Maruts as weapons-dancers (5.5.4.5).

It is repeatedly stressed that the Maruts were born at the same time; they are exactly the same age: among them is none elder or younger. This clearly stamps them as an age-set. They are all from the same womb and are as alike as the spokes of a wheel. This recalls the many berserk "brothers" we have met (especially the twelve named x-Björn, 4.2.1 n7) and the Greek youths as ὁμογάλακτες[32].

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31. *AMB* 74f.

32. Jeanmaire 140. *Gomātaraḥ* puts a new spin on ὁμογάλακτες!

2.1.1.2.4. I-Ir. **maria-*.

Wikander takes I-Ir. **maria-* to be the "Terminus technicus für die Mitglieder eines Männerbundes...," and indeed "das Mitglied der Jungmannschaft [i.e.**koryos*] in Gegensatz zu den älteren und verheirateten Männern [i.e.**teutā*]..."[33] Ved. *marya* is used in its original sense only where it appears as an epithet of the Maruts[34]. On pages 27 and 28 he gives examples in which the plural seems to be used as an indigitation formula, directed in one case at Indra and the Aṅgirases, for example; in another example a seeker addresses a group of brahmacārins as *maryāḥ*, evidently as a mark of respect. In these cases, where *maryāḥ* is used as a solemn, archaic way of addressing a group, the sacral meaning takes precedence over the implication of youthfulness, so that it is actually a term for the members of a religious community. Both *marya* and its MIr. cognate *merak* can have a strongly erotic coloring[35], and this too has the same cultic origin; youth initiation entailed, among other things, initiation into sexuality, and we know that periods of extreme sexual licence formed a part of the youths' education[36].

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33. *AMB* 82. 34. Ib. 83.

35. "*Márya* est bien le 'garçon', mais moins en tant qu'individu apte à la guerre qu'en ses implications d'être social, volontiers dans un contexte érotisant." Renou 10 N1.

36. 84. This is where "die *mairis*che Frau" (*ǰanyōiš mairiiaiiā*) comes in (see above 5.6). Wikander gives further examples from Iran, 85ff. *Mairyo* in Avestan is "meistens auf dem Weg, zu einem rein 'daēvischen' Worte zu werden" (32). *Mairyo* is the enemy par excellence of the Mithra community (33). *Mairyo* is a "dangerous, hostile being" who robs

Wikander explains Ved. *marya* as "der junge *mas*."[37] Of gods it is used only of the Maruts (often), Indra (twice), and Agni (once). "Die Marut's, und sie allein von allen Göttergruppen, werden aber und aber *maryāh* genannt, man hat den Eindruck, daß es sich in Bezug auf sie gerade um eine technische Bedeutung handelt: sie sind *divó máryāḥ,...rudrásya máryāḥ,*" etc.[38]

11.1.1.2.5. Marut epithets.

Other Marut epithets belong to the world of the Männerbund as well. *Śrī* is a "primitiver Macht- und Kraftbegriff, besonders in demselben Kreise von Gottheiten zu Hause...wie *márya*." In addition to the Maruts, it is used of Rudra, Indra, and Agni[39]. *Ayās* is "unbändig, wild."[40] The group, adj. *śárdha*, noun *śárdha(s)* and verb *śardhati* is, with one or two exceptions, found only in the RV and there rarely outside the Indra and Marut hymns. The noun is used most and can generally be translated "Schar," but when it is used thus as a collective it is used exclusively of the Maruts. In many cases this is not the meaning, and Wikander suggests a basic meaning of "Kraft, Ungestüm"[41]. This word

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the followers of Mithra (34f).

37. *AMB* 22.

38. Ib. 23.

39. Ib. 26f.

40. Ib. 42.

41. "Es ist von 'Stärke, Macht' (und ihrer Manifestation) auszugehen; 'Schar, Truppe' ist demgegenüber sekundär (*-force, [Streit]*-Macht,...)." *KEWA* III, 309.

again is virtually limited to the circle Maruts-Indra-Agni[42]. The adjective *iśmin-* appears four times in the RV, three times of the Maruts, characterizing their wild, impetuous entry, and once of Rudra as their father. These words, and a few others, which are virtually limited to the Maruts and their circle, have been suppressed in Avestin, with the exception of the last mentioned, whose cognate *Aēšma* is the unambiguously wicked god of the Männerbund with the bloody banner, which we saw in chapter 9[43]. These words were evidently too charged with Männerbund associations to be used in the Zoroastrian community.

11.1.1.2.6. Priestly activities.

The Maruts are also singers, whose songs possess great power: "While singing they made the sun to shine (8.29.10) and while blowing their pipe they cleft the mountain (1.85.10)... In singing a song they created Indra-might (1.85.2)." Their song is "conceived as a hymn of praise... Thus they come to be addressed as priests when in the company of Indra...and are compared with priests" (VM 80). Macdonell associates their singing with the wind[44], but the writing and singing of hymns, as

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42. 45-50. The verb is found almost exclusively in Indra hymns, "wo es in schlimmem Sinn das Verhalten seiner Gegner bezeichnet" 48. We will deal with Agni's association with the Maruts and the Männerbund further on.

43. Verbal forms appear frequently in both Indic and Iranian; the Old Persian *frāišaya-* is the terminus technicus for "to send out an army" 59f.

44. "Doubtless in allusion to the sound of the wind...," "Though their song must primarily have represented the sound of the winds ...," etc.

well as priestly duties, were also Männerbund activities: this is what the youths were learning during the half-year they spent with their teacher.

The two-footed wolves in Iran were 'both wolf and helper'. In India the two aspects, the rapacious and the beneficial, seem to have been distributed between two groups: the first to Rudra and his forces, the second to the Maruts, who, though Rudra's sons, act without him[45].

11.1.2. War-god.

The sixth stanza of the *Śatarudriya* concerns Rudra as battle-god. Otto comments on the passage, "Wie Wuotan ist der Rudra hier ganz zum Kriegs- und Ritterherrn geworden."[46]. The passage shows, as Wikander says, that Rudra did indeed have a lot to do with warrior bands, with armies and with chariot-warriors[47]. To be sure, Vedic Rudra does not battle demons--that is Indra's job, as it is Thor's, not Odin's, in the north. Śiva has killed demons; but Śiva has grown larger than Rudra. In the Mhb. it is Śiva who commissions Skanda as commander-in-chief of the

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45. Falk 64.

46. *Gottheit* 144. "Verneigung dem mit schneller Heerschaar und schnellem (Kriegs-) Wagen. Dem Helm- und Panzer-Träger. Dem mit der Brünne Gewappneten, dem Schützer. Dem Schlachthelden, dem Zerschmetterer. Dem Hochberühmten und berühmtes Heer Besitzenden. Dem in den Kriegspauken und in den Paukenschlägeln Lärmenden. Dem Tapfern und Anpackenden. Dem Schwert- und Köchertragenden. Dem mit dem scharfen Pfeil und Gewaffen. Dem mit gutem Gewaffen und gutem Bogen."

47. Wikander, *AMB* 74.

gods; as to Śiva himself, "the battleground of death is his playground" (*EM* 221). This coincides well with Odin as war-god: he elevates a hero, gives him a weapon or a secret tactic; sometimes he blinds, deafens, or paralyses the enemy troops, while his own favored troops feel his power in them making them invulnerable; they feel his presence; but he never enters into the fray, and if ever he uses a weapon against a man it is against his own hero, his protegé. For Odin, too, "the battleground of death is his playground."

Then what kind of war-god is this? He is not the "national" war-god; he is the god of the **koryos*. So he is the leader of demonic warriors. One thing he must do is, at certain times of the year, form his demons into warrior bands. Then, when we remember the vrātyastomas which were performed when a band came together and again when it broke up, and remember what we said about "Mars the lustral god," I think we can get a sense of what Rudra does. I believe these vrātya-stomas were lustral rites, a more primitive form of the lustrations which the Roman army used to undergo at the beginning and end of the war season[48], and often before and after a battle[49]. Then I think we can picture Rudra presiding over the lustration and the forming of the vrātya-band; going out with the band and protecting it, but never himself doing

48. I can picture the Maruts, in the days before they acquired their golden armaments, looking much like the scantily-clad "Salii" of the Bisenzio urn which Bloch describes in *The Origins of Rome*, p.139 (and plate 58).

49. Rosivach *passim.* and above 9.6.1.

any fighting; and then lustrating them again and presiding over their disbanding.

11.2. The Wild Hunter.

Rudra, storming across the skies at the van of a host of countless demons, is the Wild Hunter with his Hunt. Oldenberg called him "wilder Jäger," though in relation to the wild places, the woods and mountains, where "der Bogenbewehrte" lives, not to Wodan; he did, however, connect him with the Fauni and Silvani, the Waldmänner and other demons of the woods and mountains of Europe[50].

In Rudra we see the Wild Hunter as hunter (*mṛgavyādha*); it is one of the forms under which he can appear, both to men and to gods[51]. The eastern people call him Śarva, the Bāhīkas call him Bhava, according to ŚB I.7.3,8;[52] elsewhere Bhava and Śarva are his sons, who "go hunting

50. Oldenberg 223.

51. Stella Kramrisch, *The Presence of Śiva* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1981) 61ff.

52. This is an extremely interesting passage, because in fact it is Agni who is "that god" and who is then named as Śarva, Bhava, Paśunam pati (Paśupati) and Rudra. How can Agni be Rudra? Agni is the *sine qua non* of the sacrifice from which Rudra is excluded. "The connection of Rudra and Agni circles a point of identity... This homology, stated again and again in sacred scripture...is one of nature, not of person. Inasmuch as his nature is that of fire, Rudra is Agni" (Kramrisch 7). The Śatarudriya (YV 16) follows directly upon the completion of the fire-altar in 15--the altar is built, and homage is paid to Rudra's wrath. If Rudra has a firey side to him, Agni has a dangerous side--one might almost say a *tückisch* side (see Heesterman, "Other Folk's Fire," in Staal, *Agni* II,

through the forest like rapacious wolves."[53] Bhava and Śarva are not mere epithets; AV 11.2 makes this very clear[54]. They were the same sort of god, worshiped by outlying peoples; later it was "realized" that they were, in fact, the same being who was invoked as Rudra by the dominant group--just as we saw Lykeios and, no doubt, several other local koryos-gods subsumed under the title of the "god of the Apellai" (9.5)[55].

77; Householder, 262f.) "Weiter verbirgt sich Rudra wohl öfters unter dem Namen des Agni; besonders der 'fleischfressende' Agni, den man beim Leichenverbrennen fortbeschwört, ist wohl eine Gestalt des Rudra." (Charpentier, Rudra-Śiva 152f, n1) The homology Rudra-Śarva-Bhava-Paśupati, in any event, is one of person.

53. ŚŚ 4.20.1, in Gonda, *RI* 85.

54. Griffith calls AV 11.2 "A hymn of praise and prayer to Bhava, Śarva, and Rudra" (vol.2, p57). It begins "Bhava and Śarva, spare us, be not hostile. Homage to you, twin Lords of beasts and spirits!" Bhava and Śarva are once more given homage (16); Bhava (3a, 8, 25, 27) and Rudra (3b, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 26, 29) are invoked singly; Bhava is called by the Rudra epithet Paśupati (5, 9, 28) and Paśupati is addressed without any other name (2, 11, 19, 24); Bhava and Rudra are invoked together (14); and other descriptive epithets of Rudra are used with or without another name. In AV 6.93.1 Śarva is described as *nīlaśikaṇḍa* (black-crested) and *babhru* (brown), both Rudra-adjectives. (S. also Arbman 29f,N2.) Wikander's term "Doppelgänger" is probably the best one for Bhava and Śarva vis-a-vis Rudra.

55. Cf. also Rosivach's suggestion concerning many local Mars.
ER interprets AV 15.5.1-7 to mean that Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādeva, and Iśāna were all independent, regional vrātya gods (Vol. 13, p.8), which is certainly a distinct possibility.

The name Śarva is of particular interest because it appears in Avestan, along with Indra and other demons, as Saurva[56]. I-Ir. **Śarv-á-* is usually derived from *śáru-* ["missile, dart, spear, arrow...Nicht von *śaráh* 'Rohr' (und *śárya-* 'Pfeil', *śalyá-*'Pfeilspitze' etc.) zu trennen"] (*KEWA* III, 307). So Śarva goes back to an Aryan archer-god[57].

11.3. Canis.

Bhava and Śarva, Rudra's "sons" or *Doppelgänger*, prowl through the forest in the form of wolves. In the *Śatarudriya* homage is paid to all rudras and associates of Rudra, among them "dog-leaders" (*śvapati*), "dogs, and masters of dogs (27, 28)," and towards the end the poet asks of the rudras: "May they spare us and guard us. Within their jaws we lay the man who hates us and whom we abhor" (64), making the rudras with gaping jaws sound like "Rudra's dogs with mighty mouths, Hounds terrible with bark and howl, who gorge unmasticated food" of

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56. Wikander *AMB* 73.

57. "Wenn Rudra als gefahrbringende und gefürchtete Waffe den Bogen trägt, Odin dagegen den Speer oder den Rohrstab (reyrsproti), welche dem Thyrsos und θυρσόλογχος des Dionysos entsprechen, so ist dazu zu bemerken, daß doch auch Odin mit Bogen und Pfeil bewaffnet erscheint. Nicht nur trägt der aus Woden entstellte engl. Hooden, später Robin Hood, Pfeil und Bogen, sondern man kennt und fürchtet auch in Schweden Odens pilar, die sich ganz den gefürchteten Pfeilen des Rudra vergleichen, und es ist gerade auf diese Vorstellung ein Gewicht zu legen, weil sie eine volksmässige, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach uralte ist." L.von Schroeder, Bemerkungen 250. For Robin Hood as a late hypostasis of Woden see R.Wolfram, "Robin Hood und Hobby Horse."

AV 11.2.30. Rudra the hunter naturally has dogs about him, but the dog and his near kin, the wolf and jackal, share features of the god: they drink blood and eat carrion, haunt graveyards to feast on human corpses, and howl in the night[58]. As far as I know there is nothing in all the literature of India concerning warrior dogs, and Falk writes that there is less about the vrātyas as dogs than among other IE groups, but "we find groups of dogs as sattrins in the Chāg[aleya] U[panisad] (*śunaka*) and Ch[āndogyopanisat]...(*śvan*)."[59] That the dog (and the dog-killer) has in fact a very large role to play among the vrātyas Falk will show us.

But now I want to turn to two remarkable articles by Günther Sontheimer on modern day practices in a Śiva cult in the Deccan[60]. Sontheimer himself witnessed these rituals. This is living folk religion; because it is living we can be sure that there have been developments and accretions over time, but there are also elements which must be extremely archaic, because, while we do not find them in the Vedas or the ritual books, we have seen them elsewhere in Indo-Germania.

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58. "It is suggested that a jackal is called *śiva*, perhaps because it is the beast of Śiva who is also connected with death." "In *AV* 15.2.31, Rudra's armies are referred to as *saṃbhuñjanti*, perhaps implying that they together consumed the dead bodies, etc." Dandekar 119, Ns 7&8.

59. Falk 40.

60. "Dasarā at Devaraguḍḍa--Ritual and Play in the Cult of Mailār/ Khaṇḍobā," *The South Asian Digest of Regional Writing* 10 (1981) 1-28, and "The Malläri/Khaṇḍobä Myth as Reflected in Folk Art and Ritual," *Anthropos* 79 (1984) 155-170. They will be cited as "Dasarā" and "Myth," respectively.

11.3.1. Dogs and the Lord of Dogs.

In this cult Śiva goes by the name Mallāri, which he acquired when, as Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava[61], he defeated the demon Malla[62], or Khaṇḍoba, a name which Sontheimer does not explain. At his temple in Devaraguḍḍa and other cult places the god has consecrated devotees who serve him by behaving like dogs. "These Vaggayyas act and bark like dogs when pilgrims arrive at the grove. They have placed their wooden or brass begging bowls on the floor before the temple within the grove and the pilgrims fill them with bananas, milk, curds, ghee, sugar, millet-

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61. Bhairava, "Siva's form of terror and transcendancy" Kramrisch 471.

62. The myth is recounted in "Myth" 155f. Śiva/Mallāri is "popularly called Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra, mainly Mailār (Mairāl) in Karnataka, and Mallaṇṇa in Andhra." 155.
There is some confusion as to whether there was one demon, Malla, or a pair of demon brothers, Mani and Malla. A distinct possibilty is that the "demon" was Mani the Malla (159). "Malla" means "wrestler;" in the *Harivamśa* the story is told of how Kṛṣṇa took the name Mallāri after he and his brother Baladeva killed a couple of troublesome wrestlers. But the Mallas were a people of north India, and before that they were a military cultic brotherhood like the Vrātyas (Bollée 178). Bollée derives their name from *marya* (180f). A brotherhood sets up a state, whose members become famous as wrestlers. The first part we have seen before (8.2.1); the second has its parallel in the term *magadha* meaning "bard": Magadha is a northern state; magadhas turn up as companions of vrātya bands. Mani and Malla are supposed to have been demon kings, but perhaps historically a Mani was leader of a band of Mallas who made razzias into this area. The demon Malla, who, after death had set him free, became a Śiva-worshiper, looks like one of the marauding hill-kings who became famous devotees of Śiva, Myth 158 and see note 85 below.

bread and rice. Formerly the Vaggayyas would act it out much more."[63] Even brahmins may take temporary Vaggayya vows: "they dress like Vaggayyas, but do not bark in public." "The followers of Mallāri at Ujjain based their faith on the authority of the *Śatarudriya* reference to the 'dogs and the Lord of the dogs.'"[64]

Life-long Vaggayyas come mainly from the Kurubas, communities of shepherds and pastoralists. "In Devaraguḍḍa there are 60 families...who traditionally dedicate one or more children in each family as Vaggayyas...They have a special right to serve the god of Devaraguḍḍa as 'dogs', which means begging in his name and praising him. Through the Kuruba-Vaggayyas in Devaraguḍḍa as well as in other places, Śiva/Mailār maintains his traditional link with tribals or outlandish people, a link which is mentioned as early as in the *Śatarudriya*... Śiva/Mailār thus combines all: from the Brahman to the lowest."[64] All Vaggayyas dress in black, with turban and accoutrements reminiscent of those of Rudra and the vrātyas[65]. They make long begging expeditions during which they "visit, e.g. Karvar on the west coast, where they are

63. "They would run to their bowls, would howl, bark and quarrel amongst each other, and lie flat on the floor to eat like dogs...At other *jatrās* [festivals] of Mailār and on special request of devotees, the Vaggayyas perform a round-dance accompanied by drums and chants. In the middle of the circle devotees throw coins on a black woollen blanket and the Vaggayyas pick up the coins with their mouths...If food is offered into the bowls, they will fight like dogs trying to tear away food from each other's mouth" (6).

64. Ib. 7.

65. Ib. 8.

known as 'Mailār's dogs' (*Mailāra kunni*)." Some groups disavow the use of black magic, but others "are known to practice black magic, with which they try to intimidate people and extract money." This "somewhat predatory" behaviour again recalls the vrātyas with "their wandering and aggressive habits."[66]

The origin of the Vaggayyas, according to Sontheimer, is this: "Mallāri used to go hunting with a pack of hounds. When he was enshrined on the hill the dogs became men and served as his followers under the [Kannaḍa] name of Vaggayyas."[67] They "are called *vāghyās* in Marāthi...*Vāghyā* is invariably derived from Sanskrit *vyāghra* [tiger]. It is said that the *vāghyās* were tigers formerly, but having the *darśan* of Mārtaṇḍa their body became human. They were told by Mārtaṇḍa/ Bhairava to bark like dogs."[68] Rudra/Śiva has connections with the tiger

66. 9. Sontheimer quotes Heesterman ("Vrātya and Sacrifice" 6: "It may be that they claimed presents and hospitable accomodation under the threat of violence, either real or magical." The vrātīnas were specialists in black magic, according to Hauer (199). These were warrior-priests like the vrātyas; the difference may be only in the name.

67. Dasarā 5.

68. Myth 166. "The Marathi equivalent of the term is *vāghyā*, popularly derived from *vāgh* = 'tiger', or *vāghī* ='a bag made of tiger's skin' (Molesw.) which the Vāghyās...use. vāghyā ('dog') may also be derived from Ka. *uggu* = 'to utter repeatedly unmeaning sounds' [cf *Talamasca*, 3.3, n32.], Ka. *ogga* is a follower of the god Mailār. One may also plausibly derive 'Vaggayya' from Ka. *baggu* ='tiger'. Whatever the correct derivation may be, two aspects of the ancient Rudra/Śiva as *paśupati* ('the Lord of animals or souls') blend: the dog is the *vāhana* [vehicle] of Bhairava, and we have noted Rudra's association with the dog

as well as the dog: Śiva wears a tiger-skin, and "Rudra is like the tiger the lord of the forest (*āraṇyānām patiḥ*)...[T]he performance of the Vaggayyas may be an imitation of dogs or tigers." They carry a bag made of tiger skin in which they keep turmeric powder[69] (associated with the god as healer and very prominent in his cult[70].) "The mixing of 'tiger' and 'dog' is chronic in myth, ritual, and in art."[71] This parallels what we have seen of the infiltration of the lion ("noble dog") alongside the wolf and dog among the Hittites (8.2b) and the bear among the Germans (4.2.1, 4.6, 4.6.1). If *canis* is the warrior/hunter animal *par préférence* of the Indo-Europeans, it is nevertheless not surprising that the local King of Beasts would find a place in the cult, nor that they would be chronically mixed-up--e.g. *berserkir* "are also called *úlfheðnar*."

11.3.2. Dasarā.

Dasarā is a ten-day festival which opens the season of war. On the ninth day "the god goes for a hunting expedition to the grove. Or is it the preparation of a war expedition to kill enemies or rather the demon...?" Some traditions maintain that the demons were killed on this day. The god's bow, fifteen feet high, with which he killed the demon, is also carried to the grove, where "there is another huge, unstrung bow" which the leader of the Vaggayyas climbs until he comes in contact with

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in the *Śatarudriya*. Moreover the *Atharvaveda* associates dogs not only with Yama, but with Rudra...On the other hand we have the relationship of Rudra/Śiva with the tiger." Dasarā 6.

69. Dasarā 6. 70. Myth 165. 71. Myth 166.

the god, from whom he receives a prophecy[72].

> It is tempting to compare ...the leader of the Vaggayyas with his great, ancient predecessor, the Ekavrātya...[The leader,] having fasted for eleven...days, becomes a seer. When he climbs the bow he is in communion with the cosmic powers. He becomes, at least for some moments, Mailar/Rudra as the Vrātya becomes Ekavrātya and is one with *mahādeva* and *īśāna* (i.e. Rudra) according to the famous *Atharva-Veda* chapter (15.1). In this text even the bow is mentioned as a seemingly indispensable implement (15.1.6): 'He became the Ekavrātya; he took to himself a bow; that was Indra's bow.'(12)

War expeditions began on the tenth day[73]. "On this sacred day the god assumes the role of a king and hunter and his devotees can participate actively in his *līlā*[74]." The god has returned to the hill; he sits in his palanquin overlooking the square and smokes *gāñjī* [cannabis][75]. In the afternoon devotees known as Kañcavīras perform rites of self-torture.

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72. Dasarā 10f.

73. Cf. Silva 579 on Dusserah (=Dassarā) in Kanara (10.5.3 n29): "The chief feature of this great festival was the offering of *nara bali* (human sacrifice). One human being was always sacrificed on this day. With blood spattered round about him the warrior marched out of his house to slaughter the enemies of his people."

74. 3. "Everything the god does is, in fact, his *līlā*...For the sake of the world, for the sake of his obstinate bhaktas [devotees] he re-enacts his primordial deeds, e.g. the killing of the demon. This happens on a special, auspicious day, out of ordinary time. It is an attempt to re-enact the mythical age of the *satyayuga*" [age of truth] (2f).

75. Dasarā 12.

Self torture, and even ritual suicide, has a very old tradition in the cult[76]. The finale of the festival is the breaking of chains. The god is returned to his temple[77].

"Bhairava, Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava/Khaṇḍobā is accompanied by dogs or a pack of dogs whether he is on a hunt or defeating *rāksasas* [demons, *daityas*, e.g. Malla]. The dog or pack of dogs is associated in the art, ritual and mythology of the Mallāri/Khaṇḍobā cult from the earliest times."[78] Referring to *Śatarudriya* 27-28, Sontheimer writes that there is "an oral legend in Karnataka telling us that in a previous *yuga* a group of special devotees went as a pack of hounds for a hunt with Śiva or to help him fighting the demon...The *M.M.Ś.*[79] coincides with this: King Mārtaṇḍa is accompanied by 700 dogs..."[80] I wonder if these were not, in fact, our "warrior dogs."

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76. The vrātīnas were as famous for self-torture as for black magic (Hauer 194-211). Hauer saw in the vrātyas/ vrātīnas forerunners of the Yogins. Thus it is interesting to note that the hirpi sorani used to walk on hot coals, an activity for which yogins are famous. Was this once a common practice of all these groups? Perhaps or perhaps not, but there is evidence that extreme bodily discipline--read self-torture--may have been, and that it was a means of achieving ecstasy and/or knowledge, cf. Odin on the Tree, and the practice among both Celts and Germans of exposing their bodies to the harshest of the elements as a means of acquiring knowledge or inspiration.

77. Dasarā 13f.

78. Myth 163.

79. *Śri Malhāri Māhātmya* by Śrīdharasvāmī Nājharekar (1580-1651).

80. Myth 165.

Sontheimer repeatedly alludes to the similarity in dress and behaviour to the Vrātyas and Mallas on one hand and the Paśupatas--worshippers of Śiva/Paśupati who dressed and behaved like dogs--on the other. He also points to similarities between the Dasarā festival and the Mahāvrata (6.1 above and 11.7 below). All this shows that, however the cult has developed in the intervening centuries[81], the most important aspects of it are extremely old. Śiva/Mallāri/ Khaṇḍobā has become King and High God while keeping his character as hunter, warrior[82], and Lord of Dogs. But there is more.

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81. All traces of the Männerbund structure have disappeared, and, unlike Europe where, as we saw, men's societies sprang up in their place to preserve the secrecy of the rites, it appears that in this part of India any man can take a vow to become a Vaggayya or Kañcavīra--any man of any caste--and there are female Vaggayyas as well to wait upon the god (Dasarā 14), who may be related to the *pumscalī* (whore) of the Vrātyas (Ib. 28 n72). The cult operates completely outside of the structures of the caste system or the classical śrauta ritual. "The Kañcavīras still resemble the Vrātyas and the odd assemblage of people beyond ordered society (mentioned in the *Śatarudriya*) who have special relations with Rudra" (16).

82. And demon-killer. I am not much troubled by this. Malla does not seem to have been an Ur-Demon like Vṛtra. He was a demon king and looks much like one of the historical "hill-chiefs" of the medieval Deccan and South India; after he was conquered he became a devotee of Mallāri. "[T]he 'hill-chiefs,' variously called in Kannada *malapar, malavar,* or *malepar*, were notorious raiders and robbers, but occasionally rose to high positions and even established kingdoms...The Hoysalas, for example, called themselves *maleparol gandar* = 'champions among the hill-kings,' and are said to have started as successful brigand chiefs ...They emerged from the predatory communities of the Bedars...[et.al.]

11.3.3. Le jeu du Cheval.

Śiva/Khaṇḍobā is the rider-god. Although as king he "rides in state on an elephant, similar to Indra,"[83] he fights the demon on horseback, and the instructions for making *mūrtis*--small devotional statues--specify that he is to be depicted either as the hero on horseback or four-armed, standing, with the horse nearby[84]. The horse is "omnipresent...in the folk cults and rituals of the Deccan and Western India..."[85] Here is a scene

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who are famous devotees of Khaṇḍobā...The attack on settlements of the Brāhmans...cattle-lifting, and capturing women was not only their pursuit, but also at times that of officers of kings...Bravery and prowess like that of Malla were the prerequisites for fortune and rise to power" (Myth 158). Sontheimer goes on to give an example of such a king, who bears an uncanny likeness to Malla. We know that tribal enemies are always demons (whereas *we* are the Human Beings). The myth, culminating in Malla's conversion, looks like a mythicized version of the defeat and subjection of a human king who becomes subject also to the winners' god. It could easily be a paradigm of those incessant "Kleinkriege" which Rau describes as the norm for early India. Indeed the historical background looks exactly like the backdrop against which we picture the vrātya bands coming and going on their "aggressive and predatory expeditions."

83. Myth 161.

84. 167. Usually one or both of his wives is shown with him, Pārvatī (under this name or another) and the wife he took from among the local women.

85. "It is found as early as in the megalithic burials of the 7th century B.C. in the Deccan and is part of an ancient complex which is essentially outside the brahmanical ritual and culture. Asko Parpola [*Arguments for an Aryan Origin of the South Indian Megaliths*, Madras 1973] has

from Dasarā at Devaragudda:

> A vow...which can be taken by members of *all* communities consists of acting as a horse of the god during the festival. In fact, the distinction between horse and rider is vague. Like horses, the devotees gallop forward and backward beating themselves mercilessly with whips. They shout loudly the name of Mallāri. Devotees feed them bananas etc. straight into their mouth, keeping the eatables on the open hand as one would feed horses. These devotees are called Kudurappas ('who serve a horse' or 'who control a horse') and the *jātrā* is thus also called 'the festival of the horse' ...To act as the horse of the god is a very wide-spread vow in the Mailār/Khaṇḍobā cult. The god enters the person

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suggested that Rudra, the Vrātyas, and Aiyanār are related to the megalithic burials" (Myth 162). [Parpola argues for an earlier wave of Aryans into India who were well established by the time the second wave, who gave us the Vedas, arrived. I have read Parpola's article in Staal's *Agni*, not the book which Sontheimer cites. I gather that P's theory has not received universal approbation; it is too far removed from anything in which I can claim expertise for me to evaluate it.] Author's note 18: "Excavations of megalithic burials conducted by S.B.Deo at Mahurjhari and Naikunth in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra have yielded horse skeletons with horsebits *in situ* as well as skeletons of dogs...Lances of the length of 2m and arrow tips in the bodies of enemies point to a nomadic, warring community dominating over agriculturists. The site excavated is near a present-day Gonḍ village. The Gonḍs may sacrifice and eat any animal except the horse (and presumably the dog)...This explains the continued importance of the horse *and* the dogs in cults, especially like that of Khaṇḍobā. Lance and bow are still extant in representations of Khaṇḍobā...The persistent estimation of the horse is also reflected in its worship amongst tribes like the Gonḍs and the Bhīls and others. They may not own horses themselves, but at least their gods are made to ride horses." This looks like what Jettmar found in his excavations in the mountain ranges and what he observed of the rituals of the local tribes (Traditionen [1966]).

> in the shape of wind; it is called 'playing wind' in Marathi...But 'wind' is also popularly associated with, or contaminated by, *vāru*, which means a 'war-horse, a steed, a charger'. Skt. *vāyu* means 'wind' as well as 'horse'. It will come no longer as a surprise that Vāyu is, along with Rudra, mentioned as the god *par excellence* of the Vrātyas[86].

Nothing is said of masks or costumes, but no matter: this is *le jeu du cheval*, these are horse-masks, cousins-german of the demon horses of the Mesnie Hellequin and the Wild Hunt!

11.3.4. Têtes coupées.

It is one of Śiva's more attractive features that he wears a wreath of human skulls and has a skull as a drinking cup. Heads, not skulls, are found in all representations of Mallāri, usually under his feet. They are the heads of the demons he has killed, and they resemble the têtes coupées of the Celts more than the skulls of Śiva[87]. Fig.6 on page 167

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86. 9. Author's note 34: "According to the *Jaiminīya-Upanisad-Brāhmana* the *ekavrātya* is Vāyu. *JUB* 3.4.5.2.1-4..." (25). See also Hauer 306f and below 2.2. "It is the god who possesses the person and uses the whip." In note 35 the author compares this experience to that of the long-haired ascetic of RV 10.136: "Crazy with asceticism, we have mounted the wind." (3a) "The stallion of the wind, friend of gales, lashed on by the gods..." (5a, O'Flaherty; cf II.4.5.1).

87. The Celts were known to make drinking cups of the skulls of noble enemies (Adolphe Reinach, "Les Têtes coupées et les trophées en Gaule," 43 n1.), but they were not the only ones. Lombard drinking cups from crania 44 n3; Scythian 46. For head-collecting among other IE peoples, 43-49. A skull which had been made into a drinking cup was found in a sixth-century BC Hallstatt wagon burial in Moravia (Herbert Schutz,

of "Myth," for example, shows the god on horseback. In his left hand he holds the head of one demon; another head is on the ground. In his right hand is a long lance and behind him the inevitable dog. Fig.3, p.161, shows him on horseback with his first wife; the horse's front hooves "rest on the heads of the demons Mani-Malla." Even a pleasant domestic scene of the god with his two wives, on a mold for preparing household gods, shows him standing on the heads of the demons (Fig. 1, p160).

On the side of the stairs leading to the temple of Khaṇḍobā at Jejurī, his most famous cult center, are stone sculptures showing "the heads of heroes who died in battle. The stones are derived from the older innumerable herostones...of the Deccan and Western India. On these older widely varying stones the hero is often shown to have died in a raid defending his cattle and women...On the *vīragalas* [Kannada 'herostones'] the *apsaras* are shown to carry the hero towards heaven. There he dwells in the company of Śiva"[88] Devotion (*bhakti*) to Śiva was sometimes so intense as to lead to suicide in order to achieve nearness or union with

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The Prehistory of Germanic Europe [New Haven: Yale U.P., 1983] 216). Mallāri's heads look like Celtic stone heads, pictures in Schutz and Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain.*

88. Myth 163. "It is noteworthy that the *yogī* with his *tapas* and the warrior in his fury who dies on the battle-field are often equated with each other...[cf. 5.5.2!] Thus we find a wealth of traditions which show warriors and even dynasties...emerging from a tribal or pastoral-nomadic or even predatory past and merging into a religious context in which Śaivite gods and cults dominated."

him. The self-torture of the Kañcavīras not infrequently led to suicide. Sometimes heroes vowed to commit suicide if they won in battle, or they would kill themselves if their general were killed. A number of monuments of Khaṇḍoba are surrounded by the heads of rams and by human heads. "From Kannaḍa inscriptions we know that such memorial monuments indicate ritual suicide."[89] "Death would grant the hero *sālokya* [closeness] with Śiva, if not *sāyujyatā* [union]."[90]

11.3.5. The hunter with the spear.

A thirteenth century text "says that Mailār is the god of those 'who are fond of hunting with spears.'" The spear is "another embodiment of the god." To this day shepherds "bring their ceremonial spears" to a festival at Jejurī where they take part in "the ceremonial hunt of the god." The spear, more than the bow, which is certainly important (s. above), seems to be the hallmark of the god[91]; it is "shown in old illustrations as Khaṇḍobā's weapon." Many of the Vāghyās and Vaggayyas carry spears.

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89. Myth 159. 90. Dasarā 14.

91. Myth 168. Is this because the warrior/hunter aspect of the god predominates over the plague-sending (about which Sontheimer says nothing)? Yet he killed the demon(s) with his bow. Sontheimer writes, "Since Vedic times if not earlier, Rudra/Śiva is the great hunter armed with a spear or bow and arrows." I have not found any references to a spear. I have no trouble believing, however, that the spear is as old as the bow. The bow seems connected with plague-sending: thus Rudra, Apollo Smintheus/ Loimios, and Veiovis carry bows, whereas the gods about whom this aspect is totally forgotten--Mars, Wodan--do not. Certainly the spear was an "embodiment" of Mars.

11.3.6. Some conclusions.

In the folk religion of the Deccan we have seen Rudra/Śiva as god of young warriors and hunters: as himself, indeed, a young warrior and hunter. In his *mesnie* we have seen dogs who became men and men who become dogs, as well as demon horses which are ridden and whipped into a frenzy by the god. The festival itself has much in common with the ancient Mahāvrata; true, it does not take place at the winter solstice, but this is to be expected: the solstices are not in India the dramatic events that they are in northern lands. The rhythms of expectation and dread are connected, not with the waxing and waning of the light, but with the coming and going of the monsoon rains, and this is what Dasarā marks: the end of the rains, when the youthful warriors ride out to fight the demons. This is why we find at Dasarā the dog and horse maskers which in Europe are active at midwinter--but also at carnival, the end of winter and beginning of the season of war.

In Mallāri's dogs we are certainly seeing the warrior dogs we saw among the Scythians and the Irish, brothers of the wolf-men of Germany and Greece (8.3.3). And while the Männerbund structure is completely missing, there are many traces of Vrātya costume and custom. What we have found is a Śiva who is the complement of the Rudra/Śiva of the early writings, and a Śiva worship uncomplicated by learned speculation, the devotion of people who kept to the old tribal lifestyle of herding and hunting and razzias longer than elsewhere. This is not the pure, primitive Rudra worship either; there has been input from non-Aryans as well as the natural evolution that every living religion experiences. The Vedas

and the epics have preserved aspects of Rudra, and these people have preserved other aspects. What seems to be missing here is the scary side of the god, the side that is dangerous to his own worshipers. It may be that this was simply not the focal point of Sontheimer's articles. But a "safe" god he is not. A god who is glorified by self-torture and who welcomes suicides is close to the demonic. There is good evidence in these articles that Mallāri/ Khaṇḍobā or Śiva by any other name, like Wodan and others of this type, has more use for his devotees after they are dead.

It is almost frightening to connect the fallen Deccanese heroes, carried off by apsarases to live with Śiva, with the fallen Norse heroes, carried off by valkyries to live with Odin, but when we consider what kind of god this is we will perhaps dare to make the connection. Walhall with its many doors, the goat on the roof, and the like is a learned construct; no one ever *believed* in that. If Walhall is, as I think, the *Männerhaus*, the *syssitia*, the *sabhā* in the sky, then I think we will not find it too daring to imagine the *pitaraḥ*, the *manes*, eternally in the prime of life, living with their god and leader, *Veratýr*, in a warrior's paradise, forever. And while this is certainly the sort of conception which could have arisen independently in two, or many, populations--it is so very natural--there are so many other common features which cannot be explained away that we may perhaps be pardoned for believing that this one, too, could possibly go back to IE antiquity.

11.4. Death.

One thing which need not be argued is Rudra's connection with death. As Dandekar says, "in the Vedic literature, particularly in the *RV*, greater emphasis is put on Rudra's association with death and its horror than on any other aspect of his complex personality and character." The only question is, what, exactly, is Rudra's connection with death? Dandekar says that "a casual study of [the Rg] Veda would make one feel inclined to regard Rudra as the Vedic death-god."[92] It is true that Rudra is both cow-killer and man-killer. Does this make him a "death-god"?

Rudra is evidently not responsible for the deaths of all creatures. He kills whom and when he will, and his arrows can be turned away, turned at someone else. A story is told in the *Mhb.* of how, when Earth had become overpopulated, Brahmā created Death (*Mṛtyu*, a most pious and unwilling demoness) specifically for the purpose of seeing to it that *all* creatures would die, soon or late[93]. Rudra is selective.

We will grasp Rudra's connection with death when we see him as "Gott der ekstatischen Männerbünde." Rudra is leader of the Dead--the ritually dead and the actually dead, the warriors who have died and those who are in sacral union with them. When we recall that these Dead were responsible for protecting the tribe not only from external danger but also from internal rot--for assuring that the tribe maintained the order which

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92. Dandekar 118.

93. The story is retold in O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths* 37-43; the Mhb. references, and analogs, are found on p.315.

these Ancestors had established in the beginning--and that they were swift and merciless in meting out punishment (3.4), we will have no trouble deducing how their arrows, and those of their Leader, could become man- and cow-killing. We will see this in operation in the next section. Nor will we have a problem imagining how, when the brotherhoods were no more, this host of *manes*, of good, protective (if strict) warrior ancestors came to be joined by every conceivable ghost, spook, and demon, including those which properly belong in the train of a demoness like Hekate--nor, for that matter, how just such demonesses might end up in the household of Śiva as his wives.

11.5. Fertility.

The other side of these armies of the Dead, as we have seen (3.1; 9.5.4.2), is life. They are fructifiers--in two senses. If their descendants have been living rightly they will bless them with increase of flock and herd and household. The other sense is the pure magical value of movement, life begetting life: this is why the Greatest Kouros is asked to *leap* for full jars and abundant wool, for rich harvests and hives full of honey, and for new births among the people also (5.5.5.4); and why farmers have always welcomed the furious ride of the Wild Hunt, despite the danger, in German lands. The agricultural aspects of this fructifying power would gain in importance as the tribes settled in their lands and began to live off the bounty of their own fields instead of those of the hapless farmers they overran.

In India it is not Rudra with his host of goblins who brings increase

to farm and home but his sons, the Maruts who, although they are still described with martial epithets, as we saw above, and although they are still "terrible and powerful," bring the rains that mean life.

> Truly they are terrible and powerful; even to the desert the Rudriyas bring rain that is never dried up (RV 1.38.7).

> They who confer power, the roarers, the devourers of foes, they made the winds and lightnings by their powers. The shakers milk the heavenly udders (clouds), they sprinkle the earth all round with milk (rain).
> The bounteous Maruts pour forth water, mighty at sacrifices, the fat milk (of the clouds). They seem to lead about the powerful horse, the cloud, to make it rain; they milk the thundering, unceasing spring (1.64.5,6).

> Give us, ye heroes, wealth with valiant offspring!
> (1.85.12d, Müller).

It is not difficult to imagine how the idea "fructifying power" could come to be focused into "rain-bringing power," the coming of the rains after the dry season being the most spectacular sign of this power. And while, in this regard, the Maruts have become separated from their father, the memory is still very strong that they are in fact Rudriyas.

Rudra's host has been split. The Rudras must originally have been both wild and dangerous *and* benevolent and bountiful, just like their human counterparts, but when these disappeared from the religious and social structure, the Furious Host became goblins, while the kindly weather-spirits were worshiped with affection--despite the traces of their dangerous ancestry.

11.6. Ekstasis.

Rudra is "Gott der ekstatischen Männerbünde." Rudra is the god from whose cup the *keśin*, the long-haired ecstatic of RV 10. 136, drinks the drug. Śiva/Mallāri smokes *gāñjī* at his great feast. Śiva is the dancing god; the Maruts dance (5.5.4.5), and it is hard to believe that their father was not also a dancer. The Dead, of whom he was Leader, were conceived as being in a state of ecstasy: it is in this state that men come into their greatest powers, that they approach the gods, and the Dead were powerful. Asceticism is a way of achieving ecstasy, and Śiva is the great ascetic. His modern devotees in the Deccan, we have seen, become horses of the wind, ridden by the god and whipped into a frenzy by him; other worshipers serve him with rites of self-torture; neither they nor the horses feel pain because the god is in them.

11.7. The Feast of the Changing Year.

We have said that we have good reason to believe that the great IE feast of the New Year took place at the winter solstice but that the daughter peoples sometimes started the year at some other time which was more compelling in the climatic conditions of their new home. When we find in India certain rites and activities still keyed to the winter solstice, we know we are looking at something ancient and hallowed.

The Mahāvrata festival at the winter solstice was the great New Year's Feast. It is a feast which engages the entire population, as we have seen: there are "folk" rites and occult rites, all sorts of magic, ritual

copulation, verbal contests, and more[94], all of it established long ago by the daivā vrātyas and choreographed ever since by their earthly counterparts. Close in time are two more rites of winter. On the afternoon of the seasonal feast (*Cāturmāsya*) of winter, is the great sacrifice to the Dead (*Pitṛyajña*, "Väterverehrung"), which Oldenberg calls "a sort of Allsouls"[95] and suggests that this is the old IE feast of the Dead. The offering takes place south of the main fire, the south being the region of the Pitaras. North of the site, in Rudra's territory, and at a cross-roads, one of his favorite haunts, the strange *Traiyambakahoma* offering is made to Rudra Tryambaka[96].

The third rite is that of the *Ekāṣṭakā*. The *aṣṭakā* is the eighth night of one half of a lunar month, but it is actually only the eighth night of the dark half which was celebrated, and only during the winter[97]. The *āṣṭakāhomas* are sacrifices to the Pitaras. They are three-day rites; the second day is the actual *aṣṭakā*, on which a cow is sacrificed. The *ekāṣṭakā* is the *aṣṭakā* closest to the winter solstice--i.e. it is **the** *aṣṭakā*, the (presumptive) darkest night of the year. The *ekāṣṭakā* "equals" the

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94. Described briefly in Oldenberg 444f. and Gonda, *RI* 161f, and in great detail in Hauer 246-296; s.a.3.5 above.

95. But as Gonda correctly said, it was not a "soul" that people offered to and asked for help, especially for children, but the whole person, who was now living "on the other side": jenseits (*RI* 138); as we have stressed repeatedly.

96. Described in Gonda, *RI* 146f; Oldenberg 442; Arbman 56ff.

winter solstice[98]. On this night Indra is born and the gods come to power:

> Ekāstakā, burning with zealous fervour, brought forth her babe the great and glorious Indra.
> With him the gods subdued their adversaries.
> AV 3.10.12a-c (Griffith).

This can be verified from the fact that the days start to become longer. This half of the year is the *devayāna*, the course of the gods. At the summer solstice the sun begins to go south, into the land of the Manes. This is the *pitṛyāna*, the way of the Pitaras; the Dead are in power, as can be seen in the ever shortening days[99].

On the *ekāṣṭakā*-night the frightening Rudras are transformed into the Maruts, whose father is Rudra, but whose mother is a cow, symbol of all that is good. "In dieser Nacht wird Indra 'geboren', jener Gott, der zusammen mit den Maruts das folgende Halbjahr bestimmen wird."[100] In other words, the Rudras went about with Rudra from the summer to the winter solstice; at the winter solstice Indra was "born," and they followed him during the half-year belonging to the gods; they were dressed like him and were called Maruts. At the time of the earliest texts

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97. Three or four are celebrated; the texts differ, see Falk, *Bruderschaft* 140.

98. Even if it doesn't, as is most often the case. Ekāṣṭakā: Gonda, *RI* 137; Oldenberg 446, esp.n4.

99. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 97, 135, 140ff, 144ff, 152f, 189.

100. Ib. 153.

we have they are still "rudras," but they are not identical to "the rudras," and it is clear that the original connection has been forgotten.

To return now to the calendar--not only does the half-year from the summer to the winter solstice belong to the manes: the last part of the *pitṛyāna* is a time of preoccupation with the Dead. Similarly, this part of the year is Rudra's, the god who lives apart from the other gods and who receives different sacrifices, but the period right around the winter solstice itself is, with increased intensity, Rudra's time.

11.7.1. The Dragon-Slayer.

According to all the material which Hauer assembled, the Mahāvrata was par excellence Indra's celebration, appropriately enough: a new year is a new beginning, and in India the Dragon-Slaying myth is still where it belongs, at the beginning of history. Widengren established that the Dragon-Slayer comes from the milieu of the Männerbund[101]. In

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101. *Feudalismus* 16; cf. Binder 58-62. Sigfried: The Nibelungs as a Männerbund, s. Francis P.Magoun, "Geographical and Ethnic Names in the Nibelungenlied," *Mediaeval Studies* 7 (1945) 107f; Price, Nibelungen *passim*; Role 561. Recall, too, the connection of the Dragon-Slayer with the weapons-dances (5.5.3). What was the significance of the lone Dragon-Killing to the Männerbund? Perhaps it was the paradigmatic Great Deed which showed that the novice was ready for initiation into the *teutā* (4.5.1).
I should refrain from speculating about anything in this area, but I can't help myself. Viṣṇu is not without vrātya connections. Once when the Kuru vrātyas were sacrificing, someone asked who they were. They replied, "The Maruts." Who was their *stapati* (=*gṛhapati*)? They answered "Viṣṇu." The Maruts are with Viṣṇu in RV 2.34.11 and

Iran, Mithra, in some circles the Männerbund-god, became himself the Dragon-Slayer by gradually absorbing the hero Vərəθraγna[102]. Assuming that the Greek reflex of the Dragon is Pytho, then the **koryos*-god himself, Apollo, is Dragon-Slayer. Sigmund or Sigfried, descendant and protégé of Wodan, is *Fafnisbani*; the story is sufficiently shrouded in mystery to suggest that it goes back to an old myth no longer understood.

Although he comes from the Männerbund, when he kills the Dragon the Dragon-Slayer is alone; this is *his* deed. The Beowulf poet

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5.87.1,4,(5),8; the refrain "Evayāmarut, the quick Marut, might be a name of Viṣṇu," Müller, *Vedic Hymns* 365.
According to a rather late source (Bhattikāvya IV, 12), when Viṣṇu-avatar Rāma was in exile he wandered about in the forest as a vrātīna; he became a protector of the hermits in the region as part of a company of "Großbrahmanen." "Das besondere Charakteristikum, das ihn auszeichnet, ist die Bewaffnung eines 'reißenden Tieres' mit brennendem Geschoß. Diesen Ausdruck erläutert der Komm. dahin, daß es unter den Vrātīna 'reißende Tiere' gebe, die brennende Geschoße hätten und unheimlich gefährlich...seien. Damit ist, wenn der Komm. mit seiner Erklärung im Rechte ist, ein interessanter Zug der späten Vrātīna-Genoßenschaften gegeben: Besonders wilde und zaubermächtige Gesellen unter ihnen wurden vyāla 'reißende Tiere' genannt; ihre Bewaffnung bestand in (von Gift oder Zauberhitze) glühenden Geschoßen. Sie dürfen wohl mit den nordischen Berserkern gleichgesetzt werden..." (Hauer 210-211). Although the source is late, this lifestyle forms part of the biography of so many kings, as we have seen (e.g. Romulus and Kyros), that it may well be a very old story.
Further, Viṣṇu-avatar Kṛṣṇa ("Black," the vrātya color) comes from the same sort of dysfunctional family as Romulus and Remus and Kyros: the uncle who tried to kill him, his upbringing among country-folk and ignorance of his real parentage, his life as a cow-herd.

102. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube* 124f. and above, 8.2.

is very emphatic about this when he tells of Sigmund: Sinfjötli, Sigmund's son-cum-sister's son and faithful sidekick, was always at his side *except* when he killed the dragon. And while later on it looked to the faithful as if the Maruts must have left Indra in the lurch when he went to fight Vṛtra, the fact is that he was supposed to be alone.

We do not have a link between Indra and the Vrātyas or Indra and Rudra. But Hauer quotes extensively from material which he believes is very old which shows Indra as All-God or High God in what he calls "vrātya mysticism."[103] Since the vrātyas were Veda-students for half of the year it is not unlikely that they possessed a great body of lore, which became obsolete or perhaps subversive under the new system. I would like to refer back to an earlier section (1.1.2.5) in which we looked at a vocabulary which was limited to a small circle around the Maruts, i.e. Indra, Rudra, and Agni. Much ancient wisdom concerning both Indra and Rudra must be forever lost to us.

11.7.2. Initiation.

The Mahāvrata was a festival for all the people (3.5; 11.2.7). At the same time, instructions concerning this feast, found in various ritual books, are full of prescriptions and tabus regarding the transmission, or even the mentioning, of this lore. Hauer compares these directives to the secret teachings of a mystery religion; here the adepts are the vrātyas. If both of these observations are correct--the Mahāvrata was a great public festival; the Mahāvrata was a sacred mystery-rite of the

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103. Hauer 294f.

consecrated brotherhoods--then surely we are looking at the chief feast of the year, when the eldest age set of the **koryos* was initiated into the **teutā*. Unfortunately there seems to be no information on the subject.

According to J. G. Held, in his book *The Mahābhārata: An Ethnological Study*,[104] Rudra is the "initiation-demon"--he is more than that, but he is that. He is *sthānu*, the central post of the initiation hut, which is the cosmic house[105]. This post represents, or "is," the central pillar of the universe[106]. The hole for it is dug prayerfully: "Be the worlds pure wherein the Fathers reside!" (ŚB 3.6.1.13), because it reaches down into the abode of the manes; its top is in the heavens: "Prop thou the sky!" (ŚB III.6.1.15)[107]. Rudra is the initiation demon who devours the initiate[108]; the door of the hut is his mouth[109].

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104. Amsterdam: Uitgeversmaatschappij Holland, 1935. 105. Ib 212.

106. Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. by Rosemary Sheed (Cleveland: Meridian, 1963) 299f, 380.

107. It reaches from the abode of the *manes* to that of the gods, very appropriate for a feast which comes between the course of the manes and the course of the gods.

108. Held 231.

109. Ib. 212. Held also places initiation in the rainy period; this is because he sees that rainy season as "Rudra's time." It is, in as much as the rainy season falls within Rudra's half of the year, the half he shares with the manes. The Hauer passage is interesting in that the original designer of the initiation hut was a *gṛhapati* of the daivā vrātyāh, Dyutāna Māruta, who tradition says is the Ṛṣi of RV 7.96; by the time of the Brāhmanas he had become a son of the Maruts and a god: "Dyutāna the

11.1.9. ***Natarāja.***

If the knowledge the bramacārins were acquiring in the forest was secret knowledge it is not surprising that much of it is lost, or that what is known about their god is precisely what was not secret: his public self, the cowkiller and mankiller, the enforcer. But neither is it surprising that this god later became the god of knowledge and all the arts. Although "Śiva appears as patron of arts and literature only in the later epic" (*EM* 224), this is the development of an ancient feature and has analogs in Apollo and Odin. Nor is it surprising that Śiva should be the dancing god κατ' ἐξοχήν, *natarāja*, even though we never see Rudra dancing. As we saw in the section on dancing gods, the dances were often little dramas and could develop into real "plays." This process is reflected in Skt. *nata-* actor, *nātaka-* play, from *nrt-*, *nrtyati* to dance. "He is often pictured as holding a *dindima* (a small drum) and *tamburā*, the instrument the drone of which is iden-tified with the mystical syllable *Om*;"[110] *Om*

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son of the Maruts, doubtless, is he that blows yonder," (Vāyu) (ŚB 3.6.1.16). Unfortunately, ŚB 3.6.1, 1 calls the hut *Viṣṇu's* belly. But all is not lost, because Held is showing that the Mhb. is reflecting phratry relationships: Kauravas-Pāndavas, Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu-Rudra/Śiva. When the system works, there is an ongoing ritual rivalry between groups which are complementary and which cooperate in the necessaries of life, ritual and otherwise, of the larger group. Thus Kṛṣṇa is the divine initiate, Rudra the divine initiator; but this could just as well be turned around, and would be if, say, a Kaurava were being initiated.
Held reminds us that Rudra is the patron of various guilds which require initiation.

110. Mahadev Chakravarti, *The Concept of Rudra-Śiva through the Ages* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986) 62.

itself goes back to vrātya-mysticism[111]. "Of the six *rāgas* [melodies of Indian music] five are said to come from Śiva's mouth, and one from his spouse Pārvatī." Śiva is "a great teacher of *yoga, vīnā* (music) and *jñāna* [knowledge] and an exponent of *śāstras* [science]."[112] He is the author of all literature (*EM* 224) and the inspirer of artists (*EM* 223). His son Ganeśa keeps the martial name, Lord of Hosts (*gana-, tśa-*, once an epithet of Śiva), but is god of wisdom.

11.9. The Ekavrātya.

The remark in the Śat.Br. that the vrātya-leader Dyutāna Māruta is the wind, "he who blows there," shows, says Hauer, how far the process of mythologizing and divinizing the vrātya-leader could go. This apotheosis is complete in the figure of the Ekavrātya, who must go back at least to earliest Vedic times, for in the AV "er ist schon eine anerkannte kosmogonische Urmacht." In Jaim.Br. he is the original god of the vrātyas, from whom they turned when they "converted" to Prajāpati. He is the foremost of the daivā vrātyāḥ, but he is more: he is god[113]. In Griffith's translation of AV 15.1:

> 4. He [the wandering vrātya of 1] grew, he became great; he became Mahādeva ['great god', epithet of Rudra].
> 5. He gained the lordship of the Gods. He became Lord, [*tśāna*, epithet of Rudra].
> 6. He became Chief Vrātya [*Ekavrātya*]; He held a bow, even that Bow of Indra.
> 7. His belly is dark blue, his back is red [describes Rudra].

111. Hauer 285. 112. Chakravarti 62. 113. Hauer 306.

So the Ekavrātya is not simply the apotheosis of a vrātya leader, but rather the identification of this figure "mit einer auf anderen Intuitionen beruhenden uralten Gottheit. Diese ist aber in dem Bereich der Vrātya-Mythologie höchste Gottheit."[114]

This becomes very clear from Jaim. Up.Br. III, 21, a rare fragment, says Hauer, from the religious world of the vrātyas which, embedded as it is in the middle of brahminical speculations, stands in contrast to the surrounding material and must therefore be a piece of a very old document, since it would never have found its way into an orthodox writing "wenn es nicht als alte Tradition sein Daseinsrecht zäh geltend gemacht hätte."[115] An adept is holding a mystical dialogue with various gods; he is carried through all realms as they hand him from one to another. An example: "Agni spricht: 'Wohin (soll ich dich tragen)'? (Der Gläubige spricht:) 'Zum Winde' (vāyu). Er (der Gläubige) redet Vāyu so an: 'Wenn du von Osten her wehst, wehst du als König Indra. Wenn du von Süden her wehst, wehst du als Iśāna. Wenn du von Westen her wehst, wehst du als König Varuna. Wenn du von Norden her wehst, wehst du als König Soma. Wenn du von oben herab wehst, wehst du als Prajāpati. **Du bist der Vrātya, der Eine Vrātya (ekavrātya), unerschaffen, der Höhle der Götter, der Grenzpunkt.**" [emphasis mine] "Der Sinn des Satzes wird sofort klar,

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114. Hauer 306.

115. I would remind my reader of some of the peculiar passages in the oldest parts of the Bible, which the compilers obviously did not understand but included because their hoary age had canonized them.

wenn man ihn mit Av 15.1 vergleicht, wo der Vratya der Urgott ist, aus dem (wie aus einem Abgrund, bila) die Götter emanieren. avadih ist Grenze, Grenzpunkt, das non plus ultra ...; über ihn hinaus gibt es keine Gottheit."[116]

So the Ekavrātya is Allgott, Hochgott, "Urprinzip aller göttlichen Mächte," "he is Iśāna and Vāyu, he is Rudra-Mahādeva..."[117] But he is also a sage, the One Sage, the Ekarṣi (Eka-ṛṣi). "You are Vrātya, o Prana [breath][118], the One Ṛṣi (eka ṛṣi), Eater of the Universe[119], true Lord."[120] Just what we saw before: "The highest god is the Vrātya, intimately united with his Faithful, manifesting himself as Wind[121], at the same time a Sage, the One Ṛṣi."[122]

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116. Hauer 306f.

117. Ib. 308f.

118. "'der Atem', sowohl das belebende Prinzip in der Natur als auch das beseelende Element im Menschen," Gonda *RI* 52.

119. "The stronger stands in relation to the weaker as the eater to food," Rau 34. The Ekavrātya is thus the most powerful Being.

120. Prasnopanisad II, 11. Concerning "Esser des Alls" see Hauer 286f re "Speisemystik," 289ff re Prana, all connected with vrātya-mysticism, in Chapt. II, 4, "Das Mahāvrata als Mysterium."

121. For the wind (vāyu) as prana see Gonda, *RI* 51f.

122. Hauer 310. The grammatical formation ekavrātya, eka-ṛṣi, is the same as that of *ekāṣṭakā*. The Ekarṣi is The Seer, the See-er κατ' ἐξοχήν. The Ekavrātya is in essence identical with him. In AV 10.7.14

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the Ekarṣi, too, has become god (311), and "im Zusammenhang mit der Meditation der Silbe Om wird der Eine Seher zur höchsten Macht, wird mit dem Purusa [dem Menschen] und dem Iśāna in eins gesetzt." (313) "In ihm [Om] meditiert man schließlich den höchsten Herrn, Iśāna, dessen Gottherrlichkeit zur ersten Ursache, zum Weltall geworden ist, er ist śiva, ekaśiva." This shows the circle in which the Ekarṣi was worshipped; it is that of Rudra-Śiva, the very circle in which the Ekavrātya was the highest god. The ṛṣis were priestly singers and sages; "also müssen auch die Vrātya in ihrem Bereich diesen Typ dargestellt haben, auch sie sind Priesterseher gewesen, deren Vergöttlichung in dem Ekavrātya zur Vollendung kam." ..."Der Ekavrātya ist nach den uns vorliegenden Texten eine viel schärfer umrissene Gestalt als der Ekarṣi und ist viel früher zu fassen...Es scheint, daß in der Religion der Vrātya der Kult des Ekavrātya eine ganz zentrale Stelle einnahm und daß hier vor allem die Ineinssetzung von göttlicher Urmacht mit dem Urseher vorgenommen worden war." (314)

Chapter 12. Choosing a Leader.

We have now seen in Rudra, or Rudra/Śiva, every feature we would expect to find in the *koryos-god. But what stands out in the conception of this many-sided personality is the polarity *cow-/man-killer–fructifier*.

12.1. The *Sūlagava* sacrifice.

One night a year, after midnight, a householder would bring the best bull from his herd to a place north of and outside the village, devote it to Rudra, and slaughter it. By this act he purchased health for the rest of his herd and for his family[1].

Texts indicate that Rudra's *senās* were invoked, who were "noisy," "equipt with quivers," "approaching in single file," "coming together," "sharing," "eating together." Rudra was invoked as "Lord of thieves." Clearly the villagers visualized a troop with its leader enjoying a feast at the place of sacrifice. Behind this rite, in which the cattleman himself led his own beast to sacrifice, lay an older practice in which vrātya bands came storming into the farmsteads in the night, stole cattle, drove them out of the village, slaughtered an animal, and feasted together. When the vrātyas disappeared, the householders carried on the ritual to buy Rudra's good will, and thus health and prosperity, for that year[2].

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1. No part of the beast might be brought back into the village; to do so would be to bring death into the village. For the Sūlagava see Gonda, *RI* 86, 128; Falk, *Bruderschaft* 60f.

2. The rite was later mitigated to the point where no slaughter was involved (Falk 60-61).

12.1.1. Two stories.[3]

a) The daivā vrātyas once sat the 61-day sattra with Budha as their sthapati[4]. At the time there was no sap in the plants, fat in the milk, substance in meat, hair on the hide, or green in the trees. But since the time that the daivā vrātyas performed this sattra, "ever since, the creatures were filled with these forces and had strength and sap."

"For this reason the following śloka is taught: 5. Sons! When you repeatedly asked concerning the Daivas, 'What have you done?': The Earth was Budha's *dīkṣā*. He has put fat into the milk...7. The beasts were in poor flesh, thin, with their bones sticking out. With [Budha] Saumāyana's Dīkṣā they were provided with fat. 9. They achieved complete success. Those who perform this (Sattra) will attain complete success."

The precarious situation of man and beast is stressed: both lack fat. Men are plagued by hunger; the cattle are on the point of perishing. Then Budha undertakes the Dīkṣā and everything gets better. Verses 5 to 7 are older than the surrounding prose, which interprets Budha's success somewhat differently[5]. "All the same, the wellbeing of Flora and

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3. These tales are translated/paraphrased/summarized from Falk, *Bruderschaft* 57-60.

4. Leader (=gṛhapati). In the process they offended Varuna, who cursed them so that they would not be able to find the paths to the gods. But that's another story.

5. "Nach Sūtra 3 hätte Budha nicht aus einer momentanen Notlage geholfen, sondern zum allerersten Male Saft und Kraft in die Lebensmittel und Wesen gebracht. Diese Interpretation der alten Ślokas ist geprägt

Fauna is traced back to the workings of vrātyas."[6]

b) "Once the Naimiṣyas[7] were holding a sattra. When they were finished, they demanded (and got) from the Kurupañcālas 27 young bulls. Vaka Dālbhi [their sthapati] said to them: 'You share these, but I'll go to Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya[8]...' [D.V. would do right by him.] He went to him. He [D.V.] wasn't afraid of him (but) drove him away: 'These cows here, you Brahmabandhu', he said, 'Paśupati is killing these cows. Go far away and cook them for yourself.' 'Their (the cows') Devasū[9] has permitted me to accept the food of kings', (thought Vaka), cut himself off the haunches (of the dead animals) and cooked them. As he was cooking, (the dying of the animals) stopped [literally: (Rudra) vanished]." He

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vom Verlangen, den legendären Erfolg Budhas zu erklären, ohne sein Handeln als vorbildhaft darzustellen. Nach der behaupteten erstmaligen, aber endgültigen Schaffung von Saft und Kraft ist eine Wiederholung unnötig. Von Budhas Tat bleibt nur das einleitende Sattra übrig, der folgende Vrātya-Auszug kann entfallen. Die Vrātyas mit ihrem Vorgehen werden in Sūtra 2 den Brahmanen gegenübergestellt, die ihren Erfolg aus den Opfer (*yajña*) beziehen und Varuna ehren. Immerhin wird das Wohlergehen von Flora und Fauna auf das Wirken von Vrātyas zurückgeführt" 58.

6. Falk 57f.

7. Author's N159: "Eine Gruppe von Waldbewohnern, die zumeist als Sattrins Erwähnung finden...Vgl. auch das Sattra der Śunakas [dog-?] im Naimiṣa-Wald..."

8. This is Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the Mhb.

9. The god to whom they are sacrificed.

made a special offering to Agni Rudravat. Everything that belonged to Dhṛtarāṣṭra disappeared by sunrise. "The prophetess found out: 'This Brahmin worked magic against you. Put yourself under his protection!' He called him to him and gave him many gifts." Whereupon Vaka made an offering to Agni Surabhimat. "Then this (spook) disappeared."

"Auch wenn hier das Wort *vrātya* nicht fällt, so dürfen wir doch den Gṛhapati Vaka Dālbhi aus dem Naimiṣa-Wald, der mit seiner Schar nach einem Sattra Kühe einzieht und Rudra verehrt, bedenkenlos den Vrātyas zuordnen."

But what is going on between the king and the sthapati? "The king is livid because his cattle are dying, because Rudra in the form of Paśupati is killing them. Vaka can put an end to the death of the cattle by an offering to the god. This means that the Rudra-worshipers can determine the weal and woe of other people's cattle herds! This explains Dhṛtarāṣṭra's wrath: the pestilence shows him that the god has not been placated, and for this he makes Vaka responsible."

Now when we look again at the Sattra of the daivā vrātyāh under Budha we see what his sacrifice had to do with the boney cattle: "Budha undertook the Dīkṣā, the Sattra and the Vrātya-expedition to conciliate Rudra."[10]

This, then, is how the brahmacārins save the creatures--both two-legged and four-legged--by their intermediate consecration. They go forth as vrātya-bands to acquire from the householder the cow which will be given to Rudra, so that he will spare the rest of the farmer's livestock and

10. Falk 60.

family. The same thing is found in Iran. Zarathustra has asked Ahura Mazda why the priests (the Karapan and Usig) abandon the cow to Aēšma. The answer is: "The bull must be slaughtered which will arouse the Death-Averter to helpfulness." Aēšma receives the bull and thereupon turns death away from the remaining livestock. Referring to the passage in Denkart where the Männerbündler says, "I am both wolf and helper," Falk comments, "The troop of two-footed 'Wolves' serves Aēšma, but, inasmuch as it placates him, also the cattlebreeder."[11]

The taking of these cows, Falk stresses, is done without violence. Only if the householder refuses to give a cow will the vrātyas become aggressive[12]. Again we recall the stories of the Wild Hunt: the Hunt

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11. Ib. 62.

12. Or if the vrātyas ask him questions he cannot answer. This recalls the questions posed to brahmins by the hundred kingly youths who accompany the Aśvamedha horse during its year of freedom. If a brahmin fails to answer the questions, which can be veritable riddles, he may be plundered. These youths, by the way, are clothed and outfitted like vrātyas!
Falk apparently thinks that the violence for which the vrātyas were infamous was wholly on the part of the older vrātyas, the men without cattle, who could not make the rite of passage to the set of householders and were therefore desperate to gain land and cattle by any means (51-54), cf 7.7.2. But the youth-bands were violent everywhere, and our earliest picture of them is from India, where life as a whole was extremely violent according to the texts Rau has brought together. One can't help suspecting that the "questions" might be so rigged as to give an excuse for plundering.
Heesterman has described this life of raiding and warfare in numerous articles, especially, f.ex. *Conflict* 50-57 (or Chapt.3, "The Case of the

comes storming through the village and into the individual farmsteads with great commotion, but a prudent farmer will have left his best animal tied up outside, so that the Hunt will take it and not pull the barn doors down or otherwise cause destruction to property and livestock. What actually happens is that the Hunt will slaughter and roast the cow, feast upon it, then sew the bones up in the hide. In the morning the cow is standing by the barn, good as new, with perhaps a small piece missing from its tail[13].

Severed Head," *passim*) and Opferwildnis 19f. The paradigm is the endless warfare of the devas and asuras; the devas are feistier and more mobile, and they win. He shows how ritual developed out of this life in an often poignant attempt to retain tradition while eliminating and even denying violence.

This might be a good spot to bring up Agni's connection with the Maruts and thus with the vrātyas. Agni went along on the trekking and raiding expeditions, either (live) in the fire-pot or (potentially) in the fire-sticks. When the warriors were on the move, Agni did not get fed, and he got angry; and he would take out his anger on the warriors' cattle and persons. Heesterman deals with the rapport between Agni and the warriors in "Fire" *passim* and "Householder" 263 and how it explains certain anomalous sacrifices. The point is that the relationship was intense and intimate, and therefore fraught with danger (let us not forget the Rudra side of Agni). Wikander, commenting on the shared Marut-Agni vocabulary in the Vedas and its absence in Avestan, suggested the existence of an Indo-Iranian fire cult (*AMB* 78). Precisely because this cult was bound up with the Männerbund, the **egni-* fire word vanished from Iranian, as important as fire itself continued to be, and still is, among Zoroastrians.

13. Falk 65. The prudent farmer is of course inside his house with the shutters closed when all this transpires. Thor could get the same kind of mileage out of his goats: at the end of a day's drive he would slaughter and eat them, being careful to keep all the bones together in the hides.

12.1.2. The vrātyas as rudras.

The important point here is that the youths of the vrātya-band "are" Rudra's troops, and their *sthapati* (*gṛhapati*) "is" Rudra: they believe this, and so do the cattle-owners who give them cattle in exchange for health and prosperity. *Sthapati* is a Rudra by-name in *Śatarudrīya* 19. "Rudra wirkte durch seine Heerscharen (*senā*), so wie der Gṛhapati--selbst untätig--seine Scharen (*gana, grāma, śardha*) gewähren ließ. Da die menschlichen Vrātyas in all ihren Erscheinungs- und Wirkungsformen nicht von Rudra und dessen Heer zu trennen sind, andererseits auch die Vrātyas wie die Rudras mit ihren Opfern eine gewisse Verantwortung für das Wohlergehen der Rinder trugen, möchte ich schließen, daß in älterer Zeit die Rudras in Form von menschlichen Bünden bei den Niederlassungen der Viehzüchter erschienen."[14]

12.2. The dice game in early India.

The "dice game" we are about to describe was not played with dice, nor was it a game in our sense of the word. It seems to have been a part of every rite involving animal sacrifice and had an essential role in the Rājasuya, the royal rite of consecration.

In the morning he would hallow the bundle with his hammer. The goats would spring up as good as new; he would harness them and be on his way (Gylfaginnung 44). Falk cites *KGG* 121-126 for Germanic examples of cattle sacrificed to the Wild Hunter, with and without subsequent resurrection.

14. Falk 61f.

12.2.1. The "dice."

The game was played, if we must use this word, with the nuts of the Vibhīdaka tree (*Terminalia belerica*), which is found everywhere in India except the desert regions. Inside the hard outer shell is a nut 10-13 mm long, 8-10 mm thick, and shaped very much like an eye[15]. These nuts are the "game-pieces."

AV 4.19 is addressed to this tree[16]. Its father's name is "Cleaver" (*vibhindán nắma te pitắ*). Another passage speaks of the intoxicating fruit of the Vaibhītaka tree; this is the patronymic: the tree's father is Vibhītaka. Falk gives ample evidence that Rudra is the father, Vibhītaka himself[17]. Rudra is the cleaver among the gods; above all, though, he is the *Keśin*, the hairy one, among the gods, as the Vibhītaka is the hairy one among the trees[18]. Normally it is a product of the tree--the wood or nuts--which is *vaibhīdaka*.

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15. Roughly tear-drop shaped. Harry Falk, "Der Gott des Chaos. Würfelspiele in Indien," *Journal für Geschichte* 6 (1984) has a picture of the nuts on p.17.

16. Griffith says the Apāmārga plant, but the word-play suggests Falk is right.

17. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 102. The nut-meat is reputed to be intoxicating, but isn't. Perhaps the idea was suggested by the intoxicating nature of the game. The risk involved did intoxicate some people, so that a profane dice game sprang up which had its compulsive gamblers, as RV 10.34 and AV 7.109 bear witness along with Mhb. But the idea might have come from Rudra's well-known connection with intoxicating substances. (The t for d is in analogy to other tree names.)

18. Not only is the tree itself hairy, its fruit is reputed to make hair grow.

12.2.2. How it was played.[19]

Two players sat facing one another around a shallow pit, about 50cm in diameter, in which was a heap of 150 nuts. One player reached into the pile and took out a fairly large quantity of nuts with both hands. This was his *glaha* ("Griff"). He then began taking nuts away by fours. At the end there could be four, three, two, or one nut left, that is, the result could be *kṛta, treta, dvapara,* or *kali*[20]. If it was *kṛta*, these four could then be moved aside and there would be no nuts remaining; this result, *kṛtam vicinoti* 'he collects *kṛta*,' was the best: he had won, and if this were a profane game he would have won the stake of his opponent.

If there was one nut left he had lost, and as we know both from RV 10.34 and the Mhb, in a profane game he could well lose everything, all his property down to the very clothes he had on, and even, if he kept on playing, his wife; he could lose himself and end up a bondservant[21]. This sole remaining nut was *Kali*[22]. We do not know what happened if there were two or three nuts left over, except that the player had not "lost."

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19. The following section is paraphrased directly from Falk, "Chaos" 14.

20. An indication of how seriously this "game" was rooted in the religion is that these results, or *ayas*, have the names of the four ages (*ayas*) through which our world eternally cycles.

21. Cf. Tacitus, *Germania* 24, on the Germans' passion for dicing, to the point of enslaving themselves; see n37.

22. In Mhb. Kali is a demon who gets into Nala, causing him to keep on playing and keep on losing.

12.2.3. An army of dice.

RV 10.34.8 speaks of "Their (the dice's) army, three bands of fifty..." Here, "band" is *vrāta*. BŚS 12.15 speaks of the "Three times fifty golden dice" prescribed for the Rājasūya. Lüders saw as parallels a "Schar" (*śárdha*) of three times fifty witches (RV 1. 133.3,4) and AV 19.34.2 concerning an herb that can bring to naught the "powers of three times fifty greedy females and one hundred magicians," but took the figure as "Ausdruck einer unbestimmten Menge." He did not notice that in every single case the three times fifty was used of troops (*gaṇá, śárdha*). Falk sees in the number fifty "a basic unit." Renou saw that the term *gaṇá*, used of the dice, is "obviously a military expression." "*Gaṇá* is in fact used for military units, even though the individual texts define it differently." Common to the contradictory passages is the building block: 3 *patti* form a *senāmukha*; these are further multiplied by threes to eventually equal a *gaṇa*. "In der sicherlich älteren Stelle Mbh. 5.152,24 bilden 5 mal 50 (*pañcapañcâśat*) Mann die *patti*, auffälligerweise wieder eine mehrzahl von 50." Rudra is addressed: *pattīnā́m pátaye námaḥ* "Hail to the lord of the Pattis," in ŚR 19[23]. We have seen ample evidence of units of fifty, and especially three times fifty, in the organization of the **koryos* and in IE military organization, real and mythical (7.6.2).

12.1.4. The dog and the dog-killer.

The winner at dice--he who ended up with *kṛta*--was called *śvaghnín*, "he who has the dog-killer (on his side)." Not the "dog-killer,"

23. *Bruderschaft* 104-5.

as it has frequently been translated: this would be **śvaghná*, from which *śvaghnín* is derived. "The "dog-killer" **śvaghná* must be that divinity who is responsible for the winning outcome *kṛtá* and who kills the "dog" *káli*...A *śvaghnín* is consequently a man who (at a particular game) has the dog-killer (on his side) and therefore wins."[24] Which divinity was originally meant by the designation "dog-killer" we do not know[25].

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24. Etymology and previous explanations, *Bruderschaft* 101.

25. We have already expressed *aporia* over this character (8.2, ns.2 & 112). Schlerath (Hund), Sittig, and Haas all connect "der Hundswürger" Kandaules with "der Hundetöter" of the dice game. Haas quotes a certain Russu to the effect that the ancients explained *Κανδαύλης* by *κυνάγχης, σκυλλοπνίκτης*. Hermes and Herakles are both called *κυνάγχης*; *Κανδαύλης* was a Heraclid. Hermes was, among other things, god of luck, and thus associated with dice. "Im Hermeshymnus 129 und bei Aristophanes im Frieden 365 wirft Hermes das Los und erlangt den *Ἑρμοῦ κλῆρος*. Im Hymnus 550ff. schenkt Zeus dem Hermes die drei *Θριαί*. Es sind das die Erfinderinnen der Weissagung aus Steinchen, *θριαί*...(Sittig 205). Hermes also, der Gott mit der Fähigkeit den Hundswurf zu töten, soll weissagen im Würfelorakel...(208). Ich kann die Vermutung nicht unterdrücken, daß die im Hermeshymnus 550ff. erwähnten drei Schwestern, die *Θριαί*, nichts weiter als drei Steinwürfel sind, und daß da am Parnaß nahe Delphi in ältester Zeit ein Würfelorakel bestanden hat" (209). The vibhīdaka nuts could also be used as an oracle, as Mhb.5.140,7ff shows; Krsna consults the dice for Karna and cries out that there is not three, four, not even two: for Karna there is only Kali, Death (Falk 132). But what does it all mean? The *śvagnin* is he who has the dog-killer on his side, and the dog-killer is he who can overcome ("kill") Death. Herakles overcame Death when he brought Kerberos up out of Hades; he did not kill the dog. I can't help feeling there is more than dice at the bottom of this: recall the Odin protegé Helgi Hundingsbani.

12.2.4.1. Kali, the dog.

The dog is Kali, the loser-nut, which the winner's *kṛtá* overcomes. And Kali is not merely the loser-nut, he is also a power, "like the 'Father' Vibhīdaka." This is evident from the Nala story in the Mhb. And just as the Vibhīdaka tree is identified with Rudra, so also is Kali, as is suggested by AV 7. 109.1:

> *idám ugrāya babhráve námo yó aksesu tanūvaśī*
> *ghṛténa kálim śikṣāmi sá no mṛḍātīdṛśé*
>
> My homage to the terrible [*ugrá*], the brown [*babhrú*], the sovran lord among the dice! Butter on Kali I bestow: may he be kind to one like me.[26]

Ugrá and *babhrú* are Rudra epithets, while "be kind," or "merciful," ("Gnädigsein" [Wz *mṛḍ*]) recalls the *Śatarudriya*, in which the worshipper repeatedly begs Rudra to be merciful (7, 8, 29, 49, 50, 51)[27].

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26. Griffith's translation; I altered *ugrá* from Griffith's "strong" to "terrible," more in line with Falk and the way this word is usually translated. Falk has "Diese (Opferspende) dem Schrecklichen (*ugrá*), dem Braunen (*babhrú*), der den Leib (des Spielers) in seiner Gewalt hat. Mit Butterschmalz sind wir dem Kali förderlich. Er möge uns in gleicher Weise gnädig sein."

27. Falk adds, in accordance with his translation, "Daß Rudra mit seinen Waffen über den Körper gebietet, versteht sich von selbst."
"Rudra tötet, wenn er sich nicht gnädig stimmen läßt. Auch als Kali gibt er sich aggressiv (AVPO 1.49,3):

> *ubhau hastau pratidīvne brahmaṇāpombhāmasi*
> *kalir enaṃ yathā hanad āsya vedo bharāmahai*

> Rudra in seiner Form als Kali wird nur in einem Fall indirekt als Hund bezeichnet: Aus der Tatsache, daß er sich als Hund unter den Würfeln verbirgt, erklärt sich die Wirkungsweise des sogenannten *śvagrahaprāyaścitta* in vier Gṛhyasūtras[28]: Ein Kind, das in den ersten Tagen nach der Geburt zu sterben droht, wird als *śvagrahagṛhīta* (ĀpGS) betrachtet, "vom Hundegriff ergriffen", also sinngemäß "in den Fängen des Todes". Der Vater bringt das Kind in eine Sabhā[29] und legt es dort mit dem Rücken auf die in der Spielgrube ausgebreiteten Würfel, redet den Krankheitsverursacher mit *kurkura, śunaka* und *sārameya* an und bittet ihn, sich ein anderes Opfer zu suchen.
>
> Apte...hat aus diesem Ritus den Begriff *śvaghnín* erklären wollen als den "dog-killer", der den Krankheits-Dämon tötet. Doch wird der als Hund verstandene Verursacher der Krankheit gar nicht getötet, sondern wir dürfen schließen, daß er durch die Nennung seiner Namen und Abstammung gezwungen wird, wieder dahin zu gehen, wo er herkam: in den Hunde-Würfel, auf den das kranke Kind in der Sabhā gelegt wird.

"So it is Rudra whom the *śvaghnín* with his winning *kṛta* wards off!"[30]

12.2.4.2. Kali *eko'kṣah* and *ekākṣa*.

As the outcome of a round of dice, Kali is one nut, *eko'kṣah*. Personified, he is one-eyed, *ekākṣa*. In his article on the dog as Totentier

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'Wir fesseln die beiden Hände des Gegenspielers mit der Dichtung, damit Kali ihn töte und wir seinen Besitz an uns nehmen'" (109).

28. Instructions for the household worship.

29. The place where the dicing is held, see below 12.4.1.

30. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 109-110.

among the Indo-European peoples Schlerath notes a certain fixation with the dogs' eyes[31]. In the next chapter we will be looking at Canis' connection with Death, quite apart from his connection with the Männerbund; for the moment I will say only that the conception of Kali as one-eyed is something more than the Indians' well-known love of word-play, or even of the coincidence of an eye-shaped nut. There is a vast well of symbolism involving dogs, blindness, one-eyedness, darkness, blackness, and death, which I have had to leave for a separate chapter because there is so much of it. But Falk is right when he says "Es ist nun nicht mehr überraschend, daß das Abzeichen des Todesboten Hund, sein einziges Auge, auch zur Bezeichnung Rudras im Mhb. (13.146.2 *ekākṣa*) dient, wo die grausamen Formen Śivas genannt werden."[32]

12.2.4.3. The One and the Dog.

Among the Greeks κύων was the worst throw, whether the play was with astragaloi, psêphoi, or kuboi[33]. There was some confusion,

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31. Bernfried Schlerath, "Der Hund bei den Indogermanen." *Paideuma* 6 (1954) 36.

32. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 109.

33. Astragaloi (ὁ ἀστράγαλος) were ankle bones of sheep used as dice; they had four flat sides. Psêphoi (ἡ ψῆφος) were small, rounded stones or pebbles. Kuboi (ὁ κύβος) are of course the familiar six-sided dice. "Die einfachste und ursprünglichste Form des Spieles war wohl die, welche die Griechen ἀρτιάζειν nannten: sie wurde mit verschiedenen kleinen runden Naturobjekten, Nüssen, Bohnen, Mandeln, Knöcheln (Poll. IX 101) gespielt, von denen man eine größere Anzahl mit der Hand

according to *RE* (XIII, 1958-60), as to whether the worst throw was always the "one," or if, in a game in which two or more marked counters were used, all had to show the one[34]. A large clay die from Tarentum[35] has the values written out on the six sides, thus FEΞ, ΠΕΝτε, τΕΤΟρα, TPIA, DUC, and, in place of "one," KVων. This proves "that κύων does not mean (only) the result of a fall of four dice...but (also; or only?) the value of one side."[36] In Latin the worst throw was *canis* or *canicula*. Latin will not do much for us, since the Romans could all too easily have gotten the idea from the Greeks; and yet I do not think Schlerath is being overly bold in stating, "Bei den Indogermanen hieß der schlechteste Wurf beim (ursprünglich kultischen) Würfelspiel 'Hund'..."[37]

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packte, worauf man den andern raten ließ, ob es eine gerade oder ungerade Zahl sei." Paul Kretschmer, "Weiteres zur Urgeschichte der Inder," *KZ* 55 (1927) 88. This is the game Lysis and his friends were playing (Plato *Lysis* 206E); for ritual use it would have been suitable for a yes/no oracle. Kretschmer saw the Indian game as a version of "odds and evens" with division by four (89).

34. In part because it is not always clear which form of dice an ancient writer was describing.

35. In the Museo Civico di Storia ed Arte in Triest. It measures 5.5 cm^3.

36. *RE* XIII, 2022. Is it pertinent to our claim that the "one" is the decisive throw that Greek had a special word ὀίνη (cf L. *ūnus* <*oino-*; Go. *ains*) for the one of dice? (Chantraine III, 784).

37. Schlerath, Hund 36. Wilhelm Schulze, picking up a suggestion by Grimm in *DW*, wonders if there might not indeed be a reflex of this in German: "Mit welcher leidenschaft unsere vorfahren dem würfelspiel oblagen, ist bekannt. Extremo ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de

What did "dog" mean in this context? It could not have been a simple pejorative, i.e. no good, of no value. We have seen too much of the dog as warrior, as ancestor of heroes, as mythical founder of proud city-states[38] to permit such an explanation. Schlerath went on to give the answer: "Bei den Indogermanen hieß der schlechteste Wurf...'Hund', das heißt doch wohl 'Tod'." As we proceed with this study I hope it will become ever clearer that the concepts behind the worst throw, the dog, and death are so interconnected that we can safely assert, with Schlerath, despite the paucity of direct evidence, that the designation of the worst throw as the dog is indeed Proto-Indo-European.

12.3. The ritual dice game[39].

The old game with nuts lives on in India in a ritualized form in the Agnyādheya[40] and Rājasūya rites. Originally it preceded the sacrifice of

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corpore contendunt, victus voluntariam servitutem adit; alligari se ac venire patitur. [(When they have lost every-thing else,) on the last and final throw they wager their freedom and their person. The loser enters voluntary slavery...he allows himself to be bound and sold.] Tacitus Germ. c.24. Sollte von einem solchen Germanen, den die würfel um alles gebracht zuerst mit prägnanter beziehung die redensart gebraucht worden sein: Er ist auf den hund gekommen?" "Etymologisches," *KZ* 27 (1885) 604f. (*RE* declines.)

38. See all of chapter 8, especially sections 2 & 3.

39. The following is taken from Falk, Chaos 15, and *Bruderschaft* 135-6, as indicated. I have tried to stick to those parts which impact directly on my study and can only hope that I have not cooked the material down to a sludge. It is not easy to glean from Falk: he is succinct. But he documents abundantly. I hope that in sorting through his examples, and

a cow; now it precedes the dividing up of the rice-mash which replaced the bloody sacrifice. It was thought that the play had to do with giving out portions of the meat, but the texts say nothing of this.

"In ritual, which often blindly hands down what once was living practice,"[41] there are two "games." In the first, the house-holder (in the Agynādheya) or the king (in the Rājasūya) wins, but, as winner, instead of receiving a prize, gives one of his cows to a group of usually four subordinates. These play for the cow, but they are not trying to find a winner; they are looking for a loser. The loser is the one with Kali. This is the person who, in the old days, would have slaughtered the cow.

The connection between the "game" and the sacrifice can be seen in the rubrics concerning the horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha) in an eighth century BC ritual book: the man who kills the sacrificial horse is decapitated. "The killing of an animal is certainly indispensable to sacrifice as such, but it involves the loss of ritual or social purity, and this loss affects both the slaughterer and the community to which he belongs. In India, therefore, the polluted animal-killer at the horse sacrifice is put to death."[42]

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to some extent changing the order, I have not sacrificed meaning. If there is confusion here, it is my contribution.

40. The establishment of the sacred fires, that is, the rite by which a man who has become head of a household sets up his own house-fires.

41. Staal, *Agni* 102.

42. Chaos 15.

Now we can return to our sattrins/vrātyas. To their meeting-place, the sabhā (see below), a householder brings a cow, which they slaughter. MS 4.2.3 says of this cow: "She is Hunger. Thus they kill Hunger. When they therefore, so knowing, kill the cow on Ekāṣṭakā-Day, they kill the hunger of the (coming) year." Another text[43] explains, "Thereby he (Rudra) becomes well-disposed towards him (the householder)." "The sacrifice brings about a year without hunger or death among the livestock: 'He will be without hunger (...) So Rudra will not kill his livestock in the year to come.[44]'" "Thus the cow dies vicariously for others, and the householder is thereby guaranteed a year free of hunger."

Here, too, there are two dice-games. The householder plays and wins with *kṛta*[45]. "Kali means death, the opposite, Kṛta, therefore life. With the *kṛta*-outcome...it is shown that the householder had nothing to do with the killing." He gives the cow to the youths; they play, and the loser slaughters the cow.

"Nehmen wir alle Momente zusammen, so erhalten wir hier schon bei einem ersten Blick in die Materie ein Bild, das uns von den Jugendbünden her geläufig ist: Ein Hausherr, der auf der Seite des Lebens steht, gibt anderen in der Sabhā eine Kuh. Diese wird dort nach einem Würfelspiel getötet. Damit ist Rudra für ein Jahr beruhigt..."

Younger writings know nothing about Rudra in connection with the

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43. KS 8.7. 44. MS 1.6.10.

45. Falk does not say how the kṛta result is guaranteed. Does the householder simply keep taking *glahas* until one is "restlos zerlegt," or is it somehow rigged?

ritual dice-game. The cattle-sacrifice was replaced by a rice-porridge, and there is nothing left to indicate that its precursor had had anything to do with "this threatening divinity."[46]

12.4. ***senānīr maható ganásya.***[47]

The army of dice, the "three bands of fifty" (RV 10.34.8), has a leader (v12). The band of youths also makes one of its members its leader. He is chosen by means of the dice.

12.4.1. Sabhā and irina.

The place where the young men meet and the game is held is the *sabhā* (v6). In Mhb. "the sabhā is a festive building equipped with every pomp and splendour."[48] The early sabhā was in the open, to the south of the village (direction of the manes), in the forest. It should be located on a śmaśāna, a place where corpses are burnt or buried; this is one of Rudra's favorite places[49]. The manes had their dwelling in the sabhā, and the youths who met there were in union with them[50]. These youths were

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46. *Bruderschaft* 135f.

47. Everything is from *Bruderschaft* 75-136 unless otherwise indicated.

48. Held 233. Held has good material on the epic sabhā and the connection of the sabhā with the manes in Chapt.IV.

49. Falk 88.

50. "He is śmaśānavāsin, śmaśānagrihasevaka, śmaśānabhāj, and likes to dwell on the śmaśānas," Held 224; cf. Arbman 267 n5.

between 16 and 20 years of age, called *yúvan, vratacārín*, or *márya*[51].

The pit for the dice-game (Spielgrube) was called *irina*[52]. Sabhā and irina are the same place, *irina* under the aspect of location, *sabhā* under that of meeting-place. The consumption of surā (a kind of beer) was characteristic of the sabhā, as was sexual license; a woman in the sabhā could be regarded as a whore[53]. The sabhā was also a place of sacrifice, as we have seen. It is not surprising that Rudra is *sabhápati*, Lord of the Sabhā (ŚR 24) and *irinyá*, belonging to the irina (ŚR 43)[54].

12.4.2. Sabhā and solstice.

Sabhā is named as daughter of Prajāpati (Lord of Creatures: the Creator) in AV 7.13, as is Samitī (meeting). Uṣas (Dawn) is frequently called Prajāpati's daughter, and in AV 3.10.13 the Ekāṣṭakā is so named.

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51. The boy is brahmacārin from 8 to 16 (see above 10.4 & 10.4.1). These groupings parallel those of ancient Iran: the pupil of 7 to 15 years (*kotak, retak*), then the youth of 15 to 20 (*yuvān mart*) (94), and see Widengren, *Feudalismus* 84-95.

52. It was a depression in the earth which filled with water during the rainy season and was naturally salty ground (Salzerde). Falk explains the significance of all this, 75-84.

53. Thus Draupadī's outrage at being dragged into the sabhā, Mhb 2.62.9. Sabhā, samiti (meeting), senā (army), and surā follow the Vrātya in AV 15.9. "In the Taittirīya-Brāhmana...Soma is said to be the best nourishment of the Gods, and Surā of men. They are a pair, husband and wife" Griffith, AV 192.

54. Falk 75-92.

Uṣas is connected to the New Year, and the Ekāṣṭakā, we have seen, "is" the New Year.

The gathering in the sabhā took place in the period around the winter solstice. "If one assumes that the festivities of the Ekāṣṭakā are a variant or further development of those of the Sabhā, then this explains why both are counted as 'Prajāpati's daughters,' why cows are slaughtered in the sabhā as at the Ekāṣṭakā, and why [the celebrants] in the sabhā as at the Ekāṣṭakā were mindful of the manes. Cattle sacrifices were seasonally bound according to RV 10.85.13: *aghấsu hanyante gắvaḥ*--'Under the constellation *aghấ* cows are slaughtered.' Corresponding at a later time to this constellation *aghấ* is the month *Māgha*, in which the Ekāṣṭakā falls. But since the RV does not know the expression *ekāṣṭakā*, [having] in its place...the related Sabhā, it makes sense to look for the sabhā at which cows were slaughtered likewise under the sign *aghấ*, in the month of Māgha, in the cold season, Śiśira, just as the Lupercalia took place at year's end, in the month of the Dead."[55]

Rudra and cattle sacrifice belonged to the sabhā, "and also sexual debauchery, alcohol, and the connections of the place, as well as the gathering, to the dead. The sabhā once was situated in the wilderness and was in a certain manner unclean. Comrades came together there, probably at the time of Śiśira. There in the wilderness the leader of the group was determined or established."[56]

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55. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 97.

56. Ib. 99.

12.4.3. *Herjann.*

The three groups of fifty nuts correspond to the three groups of fifty *maryāh* as vrātyas or sattrins. The three times fifty nuts determine who will be the leader of the vrātya troop.

Kali is the dog, Kali is one-eyed, Kali is Rudra. Kali is the deciding moment of the play. Kali is also the leader of the army of nuts. This suggests that the original purpose of the game was to select a leader. Rudra, in the form of Kali, can enter into a person; we know this from the Nala story. "Wer also das Hunde-Ergebnis hatte, in den fuhr Rudra, der wurde zu Rudra, zum Hund, zum Führer der wilden Schar."[57]

In the original game there was no winner: the search was solely for a loser. The players took their turns at the heap of nuts, and each withdrew as he got four, three, or two. The game ended when Kali appeared. "Bei wem sich der 'Eine' im *gláha* zeigte, wer die Nüsse nicht mehr vollständig zusammensetzen konnte, in den fuhr Kali, wie er in Nala fuhr: Er wird zu Kali, zum Hund in der Wildnis."

"From the Vrātyas we know of the one leader who as non-living held sway over the life and death of those he visited with his troop. If we carry these conditions back into the pre- and early-vedic period, then it becomes comprehensible why Kali simultaneously created the Leader and withdrew the Leader as 'Dog' from the land of the living."[58]

But we can take this back to before the pre-vedic period. Three groups of fifty are Indo-European. The Männerbund with its wild, kynomorphic, necromancer god is Indo-European. I am sure that the

57. Falk, *Bruderschaft* 111. 58. Ib. 133.

ritual dice game to choose a leader, who is not the winner but the loser--who becomes the dog, who becomes the mad god, who becomes Death--is Indo-European. It was inherited by the other daughter peoples as it was by the Aryans, and everywhere it evolved and changed, as in India, and when it no longer had a role to play it disappeared, but, as in India, not always without a trace.

Kali is one-eyed, because the Kali outcome is one eye/nut. The vibhīdaka nuts are eye-shaped, but any small, dark object which is round or ovoid will suggest an eye, as will dots on an astragalos or cube: in German the pips on the dice are "Augen." And this, I believe, is why Odin, the wild necromancer god of the North, is one-eyed. The leader is chosen by the one-eye result, and the one-eyed god enters into him: he becomes the one-eyed god. Rudra is not "really" one-eyed, though he is called one-eyed in a particularly charged passage of the Mhb. Wodan was not really one-eyed either[59], but "one-eyed" was a conventional epithet, which lived on in poetry after the ancient way of choosing a leader was no longer in use. But then the only explanation for the epithet must be that the god is missing an eye; and since it is strange for a god to be maimed like that, the story came to be told of how he had traded the eye for a draught from Mimir's well--a story which is quite believable because of Odin's well-known obsession with knowledge, itself a feature of the god that presides over the boys while they are acquiring the knowledge they will need as mature adults and the bearers of their people's traditions[60].

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59. See chapter 1.

I hope I have brought together enough evidence concerning the Männerbund and its god to produce a detailed picture of the entire complex, a picture into which the dice game with its army of nuts and its Kali-outcome will be seen to belong. But there is more!

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60. Charpentier saw in the vrātyas the prototype of the Śaivite ascetic, Hauer that of the yogin. Both saw them as Aryans who were outside the brahminical system. What Heesterman was the first to show is that they were not outside the system, they were before it. They were "the genuine predecessors of the śrauta sacrificer and dīkṣita" (Vrātya 34). They appear indeed to be the center from which every rite and tradition radiates. And that, if our evaluation of the IE Männerbund is correct, is exactly what we would expect.

A last word now on the vrātyastomas. Those who believed the vrātyas were non-Aryan thought the vrātyastomas were rites to integrate them into the Aryan community, while those, like Hauer and Charpentier, who took the vrātyas to be "heretics," saw the vrātyastomas as rites whereby they became part of orthodox society. One senses a sadness in Hauer when he writes of this conversion; he feels the loss of the great richness of vrātya lore, about which he writes that it is "gesättigt mit einer Gottinnigkeit, wie wir sie in dieser Kraft in der vedischen Literatur nicht häufig entdecken" (310f).

Now we know that conversion was never in question. But if the purpose of the vrātyastomas was not to bring heretics into the orthodox fold, what was it? Let us review what the sources say.

1) Reaching heaven. As we saw above, the mythical (himmlische) vrātyas were enabled to reach heaven by means of the vrātyastoma. This involved as well a change of allegiance from Rudra or Vāyu to Prajāpati or Varuna.

2) Becoming fit to live in society. Lāt. VIII, 6, 19: "Nachdem sie mit dem *vrātyastoma* geopfert haben, sollen sie von dem *vrātya*-Leben ablassen. Dann werden sie zum menschlichen Zusammenleben befähigt." (Charpentier, Vrātyas 369) BaudhŚS. says that "the vrātya is cut off from social and ritual intercourse...unless he performs the vrātyastoma." (Heesterman, Vrātya 5)

3) Uniting of a vrātya group at the beginning and end of a raiding expedition. LātyŚS. 8.6.2. "'Any vrātyas who want to join in a group, should perform the first vrātyastoma....' This sūtra should be read together with...KātyŚS. 22.4.3...which virtually means the same." (Heesterman, Vrātya 5) ĀpŚS. 22.5.4, where Heesterman quotes Caland's translation: "When the vrātyas set out (to lead a vrātya life) the vrātyastomas are to be performed." (5f) KāthŚS: "When people have led a vrātya life or are about to enter upon it, they should, after having brought together their (sacrificial) fires, perform together the vrātyastomas for the sake of purification." (6) Heesterman amends MānŚS.9.3.3.2 to read, "learned (vrātyas?) should at the end of their vrātya life perform (the vrātyastomas) for the sake of purification." And Baudh. "relates that the sons of the Kurubrahmins, after performing the vrātyastomas, set out as vrātyas against the Pañcālas." (6)
From this, Heesterman concludes that "the vrātyastoma primarily celebrates the covenant between the vrātyas when setting out on a vrātya expedition, while on return a similar celebration takes place." (7) That much seems clear enough, but it ignores the three stories of the daivā vrātyas, nor does it explain the vrātyastoma as a means to enable the vrātyas to live in society. Let me venture a guess here.

According to KŚS 22,4,1-28, there are four vrātyastomas. The commentary attempts to explain them; with the third and fourth the youngest and eldest, respectively, sacrifice (Charpentier, Vrātyas 363f). Conditions for the first and second are a bit vague.

If, as I believe, the vrātyas were the Indian version of the *koryos-Männerbund*, then (at least) four different ceremonies would have been required, all of which could have come under the heading of vrātyastoma, two of which would have been major *rites de passage*.

1. The intermediate consecration (see 10.4.1 and 12.1.1b).

2. Each year, before setting out on their raiding expeditions, the youths would undergo a special lustral rite. Their age-set, which was consecrated as a group in the first ceremony, would surely now be distributed amongst several small bands; this ceremony, then, would celebrate **their** covenant, forming them into a group before they set out (s. 10.5.1 and 4).

3. At the end of the raiding period they would again be lustrated and, I presume, de-sacralized in order for the group to disband and the youths to go about the business of the rest of the year.

4. When the youths attain the age of manhood there will be the greatest ceremony of all, for now they are becoming members of the *teutā*, they will become householders and fathers. They will leave the service of the *koryos*-god, Rudra or Vāyu, to give their allegiance to the *teutā*-god, Prajāpati or Varuna.

In other words, the famous vrātya leaders were not turn-coats and the vrātyastoma was not a selling-out. Every year, at the Mahāvrata festival, the eldest set of the **koryos* was initiated into a new cult; they left the koryos-god, not because they rejected him, but because they had outgrown him. The stories of the daivā vrātyas are the mythical paradigms for this rite of passage. (Since we are speaking of a time when society was organized on a tribal level, we can scarcely be concerned about variations in the myth.)

It's a suggestion, that's all. If it is correct, then 4 is the rite which we believe we see depicted on the Gundestrup Cauldron (9.7), Aryan style.

Chapter 13. Darkness, dogs, and death.

"Von jeher gilt der Blut leckende, Leichen fressende und deshalb Leichenstätte mit Vorliebe aufsuchende, bei Nacht besonders lebhafte und in Schrecken erregender Weise heulende Hund für ein höchst widerwärtiges, unheimliches und mit den furchtbaren Mächten des Todes, der Nacht und der Unterwelt in geheimnissvoller Verbindung stehendes Thier."

So begins the second section of Roscher's famous "Kynanthropie" article[1], "Die Beziehungen des Hundes zu den Dämonen des Totenreiches;" in the third section "Hundes" is replaced by "Wolfes," and it turns out that the connections are the same. The examination of these connections was motivated by the question Roscher asks in the first section[2]: what kind of sickness is this, which can be called interchangeably *κυνανθροπία--λυκανθροπία; κυνάνθρωπος--λυκάνθρωπος; κύων--λυκάων*?[3] It is, he concludes, "eine Entrückung in das Reich der Totendämonen"[4] because "Wolf und Hund eben nur im Kult und Mythus der unterweltlichen Dämonen gleich bedeutend sind, sonst aber...immer streng von einander geschieden werden..."[5] If we qualify

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1. "Das von der 'Kynanthropie' handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side." *Abhandlungen der philologisch- historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenshaften* 17 (1897) 1-92.

2. Das Märchen von den Töchtern des Pandareos und deren 'Hundekrankheit' (*κύων*).

3. Roscher 1-25.

4. Roscher 65.

5. Ib. 63. For example, the wolf of Apollo, the dog of Asklepius. In view of our next sentence it may be a trifle troublesome that, for example, it was strictly forbidden to keep dogs on Delos (63 n176), so

this last sentence ever so slightly--*Toten*dämonen instead of *unterweltlichen*--our warriors are included: dog and wolf mean the same in the warrior cult, as we have repeatedly stressed, and the warrior cult is part of the cult of the Dead: the warriors themselves are Totendämonen.

The connections of Canis with Death are manifold[6]. Dogs, or certain behaviors of dogs, presage death. Dogs, especially large black dogs, are incarnations of death-spirits,[7] or death-demons appear as dogs or are dog-headed;[8] the same demons, e.g. Hekate, can appear as wolves.[9] Dogs are psychopompoi.[10] Fearsome dogs, such as Garmr and Kerberos, guard the realms of death.[11] All this is true of Indo-Europa, but identical conceptions are found world-wide[12].

When we look at the sentence from Roscher quoted above, we find enumerated those characteristics of *canis* which connect with death itself

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separate is the wolf from the dog in Apollo's cult. In fact, these gods are all wolf-gods; true, Mars receives dog sacrifices, but then one could hardly "sacrifice" a wolf, which one does not own. And the Lar, who is so closely connected to Mars (5.5.4.3), wears a dog-skin and is often depicted with a dog companion.

6. See esp. Bernfried Schlerath, "Der Hund bei den Indogermanen." Roscher is still indispensible.

7. Roscher 26ff. 8. Roscher 31ff. 9. Ib. 61.

10. Schlerath 27ff. 11. Ib. 31f.

12. Manfred Lurker, "Hund und Wolf in ihrer Beziehung zum Tode." *Antaios* 10/2 (Juli 1968) 199-216.

and thereby make of him a natural Totentier. First there is his appetite: he is a glutton, and while *c.familiaris* and *c.lupus* are hunters by preference, they will eat carrion, and *c.aureus*, the jackal, who belongs in this discussion, is of course a scavenger. Canis the greedy devourer is, I believe, the point of departure for canis as Totentier: because Death itself is the great Devourer, the σαρκοφάγος, consuming the flesh and leaving the mouldering bones.

And then canis is particularly active, and particularly spooky--*unheimlich*--at night. Canis is, in fact, at the center of a complex of conceptions involving death, darkness, and blindness which, although outside the parameters of the warrior cult, intersect them at several points, which I hope will show why Schlerath could confidently state that the Dog in dice meant Death, and why I can be so *dead* sure that the ritual dice-game of ancient India explains the myth of Odin's eye.

Let us begin with Herodotos' statement that "the Scythians blind all their slaves, because of the milk... This is why the Scythians blind all [prisoners] that they take; for they are not ploughmen, but roving herdsmen" (IV.2). This information is far from self-explanatory and has long been thought the result of a misunderstanding. Heinz Kothe has suggested some possible explanations for this misunderstanding[13].

The predecessors of the Scythians in south Russia were the

13. "Die königlichen Skythen und ihre blinden Knechte." *Das Verhältnis von Bodenbauern und Viehzüchtern in historischer Sicht.* (=Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr.69, 1968) 97-110.

Cimmerians, and Kothe recalls in the Odyssey the eternal darkness in which the Cimmerians dwell at the entrance to the underworld. This Cimmerian darkness could explain the presumed blindness of the Scythian slaves, for "dark" and "blind" are often synonymous. In Bulgaria the south wind is "not just dark, but also...blind or one-eyed." The Greeks call the north-east wind καικίας, cognate with Latin *caecus* meaning both dark and blind, from PIE **kai-ko-*, one-eyed. The south wind, Typhon, is both dark and blind. The Pontos-Greeks may have translated with τυφλός 'dark, blind' a corresponding Scythian word[14].

The Cimmerians are the Cerberians in Sophocles and Aristophanes, and Pliny informs us that the city called Cimmerium was formerly Cerberium (*NH* VI.6)[15]. The name of the Σκολότοι, whom the Greeks named "Scythians" (Herod.VI.6), is related to σκύλαξ[16], a young dog. Kothe evokes numerous dog-men, some of whom we have met, as well as blind and one-eyed heroes and giants. "It is especially interesting that [m.Pers.] *kōr* [blind] was connected with these dog-words...*Kurkura-* was a demon in dog-form among the ancient Indians; *Kaurava-* the blind son of *Kúruh*, the heroic ancestor of the Indian national epic; and concerning the identically named Persian king *Kurus* [*Kyros*] the tradition bears

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14. Kothe 103f. 15. Ib. 104; 110 n73.

16. Ib. 104. "*Kola-* oder *Skoloten*, ein Wortpaar, das man mit recht zu der Hesychglosse κύλλα: σκύλαξ gestellt..." "Zugehörig sind sicherlich auch die litauischen Hundewörter *kaláicikas* and *skalikas*" (n74). The dog-strangler Κανδαύλης is called σκυλοπνίκτης (Sittig 204).

express witness that his foster-mother was a 'bitch.'"[17]

Why, Kothe asks, were all these heroic or divine dog-men thought to be one-eyed or blind and to live in eternal darkness? The answer is suggested by those "blinde Hundehessen" and blind Swabians we met in 8.2.3.3c, about whom it was said that their children were blind like puppies for nine days after their birth. Add to this the fact that young warriors often called themselves "young wolves or dogs," and the connection/confusion of words meaning "dog, blind, black" does not seem so implausible[18].

"Dark" can equal "blind" because, in Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Indo-Iranian, at least, "blind" is used of things which ought to shine but do not, which have become dark or dull. Thus, in modern German, a

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17. *Spako/Kyno*, s.8.2.2. "Mehr Berechtigung hätte die etymologische Verbindung mit dem altindischen Heldengeschlechte *Kuru*..., wenn Sicherheit über die Quantität des ersten Vokales in altpers. *Kurus* bestünde." Weissbach in *RE*, quoted in Wilhelm Eilers, "Kyros," *BNF* 15 (1964) 232, who has proven a short u for the OPers. *Kuru-* (192ff), and adds Iranian and Indian place-names as evidence of common origin. "Hinzu tritt eine weitere Besonderheit: einer der Hauptheiden der indischen Nationalsage Dhrtarāstra, ist der *Kaurava* (*'Kuru*-Sohn') schlechthin; er ist blind, und 'blind' heißt bei den Persern seit mitteliranischer Zeit *kôr*, ein Wort ohne sonstige Etyma, wohl aber die natürlich entwickelte Weiterbildung etwa eines *Kaurava-*. Die Inder kennen nach dem Stande unseres Wissens nur das alte arische Wort *andhá-* für 'blind', welches auch altiranisch belegt ist (Awesta), aber später fast überall--sieht man vom Osten ab--durch das rätselhafte Wort *kõr* verdrängt wurde, welches seinerseits wieder sogar die angestammten Wörter für 'blind' bei Armeniern und Türken verdrängt hat" (233).

18. Kothe 105.

mirror which does not reflect, glass which is not transparent, or silver which has become tarnished can all be called "blind." But darkness, especially blackness, the darkness of night, is also the ultimate concealer--cf. the expression "under cover of darkness"--and "blind" is used in these languages to mean not just unseeing, but unseen; not only "cannot see," but "cannot be seen;" this is true of middle Persian *kōr* as well[19].

Now it is precisely Totendämonen who are both the concealers and the concealed. Güntert's *Kalypso* is the "Verhüllerin," "Verbergerin": she who covers over or conceals. καλύπτω is "cover, conceal," but also "inter." καλύπτρα is a veil; Güntert gives the Ionic form as a FPN Καλύπρη, "die Verschleierte."[20] The PIE root is **k'el-*, cover, conceal: NHD hehlen; OIc Hel, OE, NE hell, etc.[21] These last go back to PGmc.

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19. "Daß auch das Unsichtbare als'blind' gilt, hängt mit der uralten Vorstellung zusammen, wonach das Licht, welches von einem Gegendstande ausgeht, eine selbstständige Kraft sei und nicht nur der Reflex des Sonnenscheines oder eines anderen Lichtes..." Eilers 223. Kūr, kōr is used, in Persian and other Near Eastern languages, of rivers whose waters are dark and muddy, such as the Kura of Armenia, formerly the Kyros, but also of rivers which fail to reach the sea (something like our "blind alley"); Skt. *andhá-* is used in the same way, 214-231. The bulk of Eilers' article is about "blind" in the names of bodies of water, especially in river names.
Similar usages were once common in English but have largely gone out of use, are marked as archaic, or remain as specialized relics, e.g. a blind seam, a blind intersection, duck blinds and Venetian blinds.

20. Güntert 30. 21. Ib. 34f.

**halja* < PIE **k'ol-io-* (36), a PIE Death-Demoness[22].

Just as OIc *hel* takes its name from its proprietress *Hel*, Greek ᾅδης takes its name from Ἄιδης, its ruler. He is "the Unseen" (α-privative, ἰδεῖν) because he is under the earth, where the Dead are; moreover his κυνέη is a Tarnkappe, a cap or cape of invisibility[23]. Among the Tarnkappeträger named by Güntert, 66ff, is the Devil himself, the present proprietor of hades/ hell. But Odin's broad-brimmed hat is also a Tarnkappe: thus the recurring motif of his going unrecognized until, when it is too late, whoever he has been dealing with gets a glimpse of the empty socket. Originally the hat and his blue cloak must have been of one piece, a hooded cape[24]. Hat and cloak are a means of disguise. To Jan de Vries, Odin's hat is reminiscent of "the Tarnkappe of the dwarfs [themselves chthonic beings], the *huldrehat* of the Norwegian earth-spirits, but also of the cap of Hades, or Hermes' petasos." He considers it highly improbable that Odin first acquired this feature through

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22. Ib. 36. A demoness because the word is grammatically a feminine. OIc *hel*, the place, is named for its proprietress.

23. Which adds to the symbolism of the garb of our demonic warriors, cf esp. 8.5.3.

24. Thus *Hooden* for Woden, and eventually Robin Hood. Blue and black are not clearly distinguished in the sagas, and we must think of a very dark (cerulean) blue, like the woad of the Britons (4). Albrecht Dieterich describes "ein Hadesdämon Eurynomos (ein alter Name des Unterweltsgottes)...von einer Farbe zwischen dunkelblau und schwarz, wie die Fliegen aussehen, die sich ans Fleisch setzen" (*Nekyia* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1893] 47). This is the color we want, I think.

the influence of classical conceptions: it is far more likely that classical and Germanic conceptions go back to a common perception of death-demons as hidden or disguised. "We may therefore expect that in a Totenkult a representative of the god, disguised in this way, played a role."[25]

The Schlapphut is pulled down, concealing the empty eye-socket, diguising the one-eyed god. "One-eyed" is PIE **kai-ko-*, Go. *haihs*, OIr *caech*, but also Latin *caecus*, "blind"[26]; and *caecus* is also "dark, obscure, invisible." How easily the terms "one-eyed" and "blind," and "blind" and "dark," "unseen," flow into one another is amply presented in Eilers' article. "Wenn Odin mit seinem 'Zauberhut' als chthonische Gottheit *blindr, Helblinde* geschildert wird..., so ist dies nur ein andrer Ausdruck für die 'verhüllte' Gottheit."[27]

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25. *AGRG* II, 191f. Let us recall here that the leader, and only the leader, of the vratya band wore a turban.

26. And Skr. *keka-ra-*, MIr *leth-chaech*, "squinting", OCorn *cuic*, "squinting in order to aim", "one-eyed", and much more; see Walde-Hofmann, "caecus."

27. Güntert 67 n6. "Die Analogie mit anderen Vorstellungen von einäugigen Wesen wie den Kyklopen des griechischen Altertums oder der *tomte* der skand. Neuzeit führt...dazu, an einen Totendämon zu denken" (de Vries, *AGRG* 193). The Cyclops is μονόφθαλμος; Cyclopes are by nature one-eyed, whereas a being like Odin, who is *altero orbus oculo*, is ἑτερόφθαλμος. I have no idea what, if any, significance this has. There surely must be some significance to the statement by Gutorm Gjessing that "One-eyed mythical beings, *usually connected with the realm of the dead*, occur, in fact, rather commonly in East-Asiatic and

Eitrem deals at some length with the eyes of the dead[28], and Schlerath remarks on the frequent emphasis on dogs' eyes[29]. Demon dogs and wolves have fiery eyes. Odin is Báleygr, "with flaming eye(s)."[30] Charon's name comes from his fiery eyes[31], which are characteristic of the malicious demons of death, such as the Erinyes, demons originally in dog form[32]. The Keres were pictured as "black dogs with fiery eyes"

Northwest-American folklore; and undoubtedly related to these myths, one-eyed masks very frequently appear on North-west Coast petroglyphs and pictographs" (emphasis mine). "The One-eyed God--a Study in Diffusion," in *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Comte-rendu de la Troisième Session* (Brussels 1948, Tervuren 1960) 95; unfortunately all that is printed of Gjessing's talk is a half-page summary.

28. 48f. One closes the eyes of a dead man; "thus a Roman death-god can be named Caeculus, *qui oculos sensu exanimet* (Tertull. ad. nat. II 15)." He is wrong, of course; Tertullian was drawing on Varro, who derived Caeculus from *caecus* because his eyes were small and squinty from the smoke, a consequence of his having been sired by Vulcan. Caeculus is an Etruscan name, unrelated to *caecus*, according to Walde-Hofmann. What is interesting is that Tertullian made the connection between blindness, or some peculiarity about the eyes, and death. For the real story see 8.2.1.2b above, Radke 76f, and Evans 202f.

29. Schlerath 36.

30. Hj. Falk, *Odensheite* #6.

31. Roscher 31 n77, 34 n88.

32. Roscher cites as further examples Aeschylos (*Cho.*924f and 1054) *μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας*; Sophocles (*Elect.*1387) *μετάδρομοι κακῶν πανουργημάτων ἄφυκτοι κύνες*; Aristophanes (*Frogs* 472) *Κωκυτοῦ περιδρομοι κύνες* (48).

which gnash their teeth like ravenous hounds[33]. Hekate is shown dog-headed, "ohne Zweifel nach ältester Vorstellung."[34] "Dämonen wie Hekate, die Erinyen und Keren [stimmen] insofern [überein], als ihnen allen genau dieselben Beziehungen zum Hunde eigen sind..."[35]

Dieterich writes of blood-slurping Erinyes and heart-gnawing Keres,[36] while Lincoln draws attention to the appetite of the hel-hound Garmr, "implied by his blood-stained chest, befouled in the course of his grisly feasting"[37]: *Sá var blóðugr um bríost framan* (BD 3,1-2). Geri

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33. Roscher 46f.

34. Rohde, *Psyche* II 83 n3.

35. Roscher 42. Far from being metaphor, this conception is a "Nachklang aus uralter Zeit..., welche sich die furchtbaren Rachegöttinnen noch in der Gestalt wüthender blutgieriger Hunde dachte. Eine schlagende Bestätigung dieser Annahme gewehren uns nicht bloß die bisher angeführten Analogien sondern namentlich auch jene grausigen Schilderungen des größten und ältesten Tragikers von dem völlig hündischen Treiben der alten 'Todtengeister', die z.B. Menschenblut trinken und von dessen Geruch angelockt werden." Roscher cites here Aesch. *Eumen.* 246 and 254. "Wie Hekate und die Keren heissen demnach auch die Erinyen κυνώπιδες...; bisweilen wird ihr Gebell, ihre schwarze Farbe und ihr furchtbarer (feuriger) Blick hervorgehoben" (49). Let us recall that the Erinys and Ker, like the members of Hekate's troop, are first of all the dead and only then death-demons.

36. Dieterich, *Nekyia* 54f.

37. *Death, War, and Sacrifice* 97. "Old Norse *garmr* simply means 'dog' (compare Faroese *garmur* 'dog'), applied to the hellhound as a proper name."

and Freki--both names mean greedy-- are Odin's wolves[38] which, according to Snorri, he feeds from his table (*Gylf.* 38), but they are *valgiörn* according to HHu I, 13,8, craving corpses, and it is with *val*, corpses, that he sates them.

The notion of Death itself as devourer arises naturally from the observation of the flesh being consumed and is cross-cultural[39]. "Der Kerberos ist von Haus aus nichts anderes als ein fressendes Ungeheuer der Tiefe, die fressende Erdtiefe selbst in Gestalt eines furchtbaren Hundes."[40] Hekate is σαρκόφαγος; Hades is παντόφαγος. Hades

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38. Snorri calls them wolves; his source, Grm.19, which he quotes, just gives their names, while HHu I speaks of *Viðris grey*, Odin's dogs; but Odin's dogs may be wolves. The late Fjölvinnsmál has two dogs (*garmar*), *Gífr* ("greedy" again) and *Geri* (20, 1-2). See Lincoln, *Death* 97-99 and 104 n35.
The other feature of the hellhound to which Lincoln draws attention is his bark: *oc galdrs föður/ gó um lengi*, and long he barked at the father of spells (BDr 3,3-4). The bark, as well as the appetite, has an analog in Kerberos the raw-flesh eater, the brazen-voiced dog of Hades (Hesiod, Theog. 311): *Κέρβερον ὠμηστήν, Ἀίδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον.* Schramm, discussing names of the *Waldhund* forest-dog, and *Witugauuo* forest-barker, type as wolf-kennings, cites these lines from the 11C Annolied, Str.XL, 17ff: *Daz di gidouftin lichamin / Umbigravin ciworfin lagin, / Ci ase den bellindin, / Den grawin walthundin*, "that the baptized corpses/ lay strewn about unburied/ a meal for the Barkers,/ the grey Forest-dogs (83 n1). Cf above 8.4.2.

39. "Der Tod als fürchterlicher Fresser ist eine primitive Vorstellung, die von den Loangonegern bis hinauf zu Schiller reicht: 'Tischt auch den dem grossen Würger auf' (Elegie auf Weckherlin)." Naumann, *Jahrb. f. histor. Volkskde.* I, quoted in Ranke, 338 n1.

40. Dieterich 49.

sometimes gets a craving to feast upon human flesh[41]; as wearer of the κυνῆ he must also have been imagined as a dog.

The "Tarasque" of Noves is "a sinister wolf-like monster, with a scaly back like a dragon; it may be a symbol of devouring death, since it is crunching a human arm in its mouth and holding a human head under each of its front paws."[42] The huge sculpture is dated La-Tène II[43]. This must have been an enduring conception among the Celts, because the early part of our era gave rise to a series of reliefs and sculptures on the theme of the *fauve androphage*. Many are definitely wolves, some distinctly female, Celtic sisters to Hekate and the Keres, who are also wolves. "*La louve androphage d'Arlon*," for example, is a relief of a wolf with enlarged nipples in the process of devouring a man; the head, arms, and shoulders have already disappeared into the beast's maw[44]. The wolf is disproportionately large in these sculptures, indicating that she is a supernatural being[45].

As repulsive as these beings seem to us, and as frightening as they evidently were to the people who imagined them, they were actually performing a service, for it was a wide-spread belief that the soul was

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41. Güntert 41.

42. H.R.E. Davidson, *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe* (Syracuse: Syracuse U.P., 1988) 95.

43. De Vries, *KR* 252, who sees here a monster *sui generis*.

44. Marcel Renard, "La louve androphage d'Arlon," *Latomus* 8 (1949) 256 & fig.1.

45. Renard 260.

free to do whatever it was thought to do next only after the flesh in which it was incorporated was gone: thus the Totenfresser sets the person free. It is not hard to understand, therefore, how the Totenfresser could become the Totenführer[46]. Echoes of both conceptions are seen in the attitudes of the mourners to the two dogs of Yama in RV 10.14: "these dogs are regarded (like many Vedic gods) as dangerous because they kill you (verses 10 and 12) but also as potentially benevolent, because they lead you to heaven (verse 11)."[47] Even the terrifying *louve androphage* seems to have played such a role; "the Celtic noun [Welsh] *gweil-gi*, the

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46. Ranke 341, though I believe he has mixed in some notions which do not properly belong here.

47. O'Flaherty, *RV* 43.

> 10.[*To the dead man*:] Run on the right path, past the two brindled, four-eyed dogs, the sons of Saramā, and then approach the fathers, who are easy to reach and who rejoice at the same feast as Yama.
>
> 11.Yama, give him over to your two guardian dogs, the four-eyed keepers of the path, who watch over men. O king, grant him happiness and health.
>
> 12.The two dark messengers of Yama with flaring nostrils wander among men, thirsting for the breath of life. Let them give back to us a life of happiness here and today, so that we may see the sun.

Where cremation was practiced, fire assumed the roles both of devourer and psychopomp. Thus the mourners' attitude toward Agni shows the same ambivalence, as we see in RV 10.16, 9: "I send the flesh-eating fire far away. Let him go to those whose king is Yama, carrying away all impurities. But let that other, the knower of creatures [*Jātavedas*], come here and carry the oblation to the gods, since he knows the way in advance." (50)

mythic 'wolf-bitch,' is at the same time the name which was given to the Ocean which the deceased had to cross to reach the au-delà."[48]

Kerberos is ὠμηστής (n22); so is Dionysos, the Wild Hunter, and the tearing apart of living creatures in the manner of hunting dogs and feasting on raw flesh were practiced by his followers. In articles which Jeanmaire called "epoch-making," Karl Dilthey established the affinities between the Bacchae or Maenads and the Erinyes, who were thought of not only as dogs, as we have seen, but as huntresses.

> Es zeigen sich zwei scheinbar verschiedene Mythenbilder, Bakche und Erinys, in ihren Wurzeln tief und unzertrennlich ineinander verschlungen, und diese Wurzeln gehen in die Unterwelt.
> ...es ist das Bild der wilden Jagd, das hier überall zu Grunde liegt, und diese uralte Vorstellung hat lange Erinys und Bakchantin nicht geschieden: sie wusste nur vom tobenden Schwarm der Nymphen der Artemis[49].

The verb *par préférence* to characterize the action of the Wild Hunt is θύω /θυίω, a word used by Homer and Hesiod "vom einherbrausenden Wind und Gewässer, vom schäumenden Blut, vom Wüten in der Schlacht...Mit Vorliebe wird das Wort von der leidenschaftlichen Bewegung gebraucht, welche die Folge göttlicher Begeisterung ist."[50] Hunting is not Artemis' original vocation. She is indeed the archeress, but her arrows strike women[51]; from the Huntress Death she became the

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48. Renard 261.

49. Dilthey, Pentheus 90f.

50. Dilthey, Artemis 327.

51. Only once, in anger, a man: Orion.

Huntress[52].

> Rauschend stürmt Artemis daher mit dem goldenen Bogen und den tödtlichen Pfeilen, in leuchtendem Glanz. Die Häupter der Berge erzittern, der Wald heult auf, es schauert die Erde und das Meer; der Schwarm hurtiger Nyphen umgibt sie und gellender Jagdruf und Hundegebell[53].

Folk religion had a darker, more anxious picture. The "orphic" hymns preserved many kernels of old folk belief, among which Dilthey reckoned the conception of Artemis-Hekate blustering through forest and over field with a swarm of departed souls. *Ἑκάτης κῶμος* is the Wild Hunt, the Furious Host[54]. This is why Diana could blend with Holda, Perchta, and related huntresses of Germanic and Celtic lore[55].

"Death, the Hunter" is a figure found world-wide, certainly as natural and spontaneous a notion as the association of the dog with Death. That the god who led the demonic host should also be the Hunter is not surprising when we recall the importance of hunting in the lives of young warriors. In Wales the hunt of souls, *Cwn Annwn*, also called the "hounds of the clouds," *Cwn y Wybr*, is led by Gwyn fab Nudd,

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52. Dilthey, Artemis 329. 53. Ib. 331f. 54. Ib. 332.

55. And how "Diana" could become the leader of the "fairies," who are certainly the departed souls, in Rumania (3.4). This is perhaps a good time to recall that when these demonesses, such as the Perchten, are manifested in flesh and blood, it is always by men's societies (3.4). Only in the following of Dionysos do we find women in the role of mythical female spirits; but the Maenad had by then evolved along a different track from that of the Erinys and her other sisters in Greece and elsewhere.

etymologically the Welsh version of Irish Finn (6&7). In later tradition Gwyn was "a sinister lord of the Otherworld...connected with the *ellyllon* ('bogeys, sprites, elves, phantoms') and their kindred."[56]

Dogs are not associated with Dionysos; his hunting-hounds are panthers. Panthers are exotic, and there may be a hint of something older in the fact that the jackal is sometimes confused with the panther, the similarity hinging on the speckled or mottled coloring[57]. But he sets his Maenads upon the prey the way a hunter casts his hounds--ὁ *Βάκχιος*

56. John Carey, "Nodons in Britain and Ireland." *ZfCP* 40 (1984) 1-22; these citations are from 14-15. Finn, Gwyn, and their father Nodons are all very much involved with dogs (20f). Carey does not put great faith in recent folktales, though he admits "the possibility that a genuine tradition underlies these claims is not to be rejected out of hand...But late literary references to Gwyn may be merely a romanticization of the folk-belief, widespread in northern Europe, in a spectral hunt led by the devil" (15). In fact the devil has replaced many an early Hunter, or the pagan hunter has been identified as the devil.

57. I wonder if there is not some connection here with Yama's "spotted, varicolored" (Lincoln, Death 96)--*śabála-* -- or, in O'Flaherty's translation, brindled dogs. Schlerath believes the adjective is a dvandva: one dog is black, the other white; this ties in nicely with the two dogs at the Cinvat Bridge in Zoroastrian death-lore, the white dog which aids the good in reaching their eternal reward, the black dog which presides over the evil-doers' plunge into the chasm. This seems to me too modern conceptually to be even Indo-Iranian; furthermore Yama's dogs act as a pair and as a pair evoke the ambivalent feelings indicated above. Lincoln seconds Schlerath and brings in Old Norse evidence for two helhounds, the "greedy" dogs/ wolves of n38 above; but since nothing is said of their color, we should probably color them grey, along with everything else connected with hel.

κυναγέτας / σοφὸς σοφῶς ἀνέπηλεν ἐπὶ θήρᾳ / τοῦδε Μαινάδας (*Bacchae* 1189ff.)--and this, I think, is why the dog is not in evidence: the κύνες have become κυναγέτιδες Μαινάδες. Nilsson thought Dionysos first acquired the Lordship of souls as a result of his connection with the Anthesteria,[58] but Jeanmaire is certainly correct that Dionysos was from the start, and above all else, *le Grand Chasseur*[59].

> The conception of the Grand Chasseur and of his equipage of howling spectres enlarges and projects upon the mystical plain the spectacle which the thiasos of Dionysos (or that of Artemis) presents, just as the *Mesnie furieuse* is the imaginary projection of the charivari which the participants in the mascarades of winter carry on. When the ancient authors wanted to depict the Chasse sauvage, it was the expressions borrowed from the cult of Dionysos which naturally came to mind[60].

Masks, we have said, are invariably connected with the cult of the dead, and Mask-gods are always thiasos-gods and comos-gods (3.4)[61]. Indo-European masks belong to winter, especially the Twelve Days around the winter solstice; the darkest time of the year is the time of masks and werewolves (3.5). And darkness is a natural metaphor for death; "die Sonne sehen," as Schlerath says, "heißt soviel wie leben;"[62]

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58. Nilsson, *Feste* 273.

59. Jeanmaire 246-257. 60. Ib. 250.

61. "'Venir en masque' est la seule façon de rendre exactement l'expression 'faire *cômos*'," Jeanmaire 561.

62. Schlerath, Hund 28.

thus the Irish ruler of the land of the dead can be "the dark one," Donn[63]. But darkness also disguises and conceals. Odin is Grímr and Grímnir (47-48), the masked one, from *gríma*, "a covering for the face or head, a mask or cowl;" and in poetry *gríma* is also "the night" (Zoega). Night is a natural metaphor for death and can mean death in German, Greek, and Latin. And Latin *nox* can also be "blindness." Which brings us back to where we started.

All of this feeds into the conception of Odin as the one-eyed god. The designation comes, I believe, from the ritual dice game. But to have hung on so stubbornly for so many centuries after becoming incomprehensible it must have rested on more than a coincidence of homophony[64].

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63. De Vries, *KR* 82; Davidson, *Myths and Symbols* 176.

64. The other Totentiere are the carrion-eating birds and the horse. The first are as natural as the dog and serve the same purpose of freeing the spirit by ridding it of the flesh. It was, in fact, a not uncommon practice among primitive peoples to expose the corpse on a platform and leave it to the ministrations of carrion birds. In Indo-Europa the carrion-bird is acknowledged as fact and immortalized in the Harpy; and it is no coincidence that Irish battle goddesses appear as crows or that Odin has ravens as informants, but the bird does not have a place in cult beside the canidae and the horse.

Excursus. One-eyed / blind gods and men.

There is a crowd of Indo-European gods and heroes who are one-eyed or blind. I list some of them here, without going into particulars; one cannot help wondering how many of these result from a misunderstanding of the "blind slaves" type, or even from something more mundane, such as Varro's faulty derivation of Caeculus from Caecus.

Among divinities there is the blind god Höðr, son of Odin and killer of his brother Baldr[1]. The Lithuanian god Velinas, in many respects an analog of Odin, is one-eyed (9.4 and n26). The Iranian god who leads the troops with the bloody banner is "der schlechtäugige Aēšma." (9.2).

The Spartan Lycourgos--"der Wolftätige"[2]--was one-eyed;[3] and there was Lycourgos the Edonien, persecutor of Dionysos, blinded by the gods[4]. The Roman hero Horatius Cocles was one-eyed[5]. "The leader of the British *diberga* in the Irish saga *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* #44 is called Ingcél Cáech 'I. the One-eyed', the *diberg*...Macuil moccu Greccae

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1. One wonders why a god should be blind at all, and this god seems to have no function other than to be blind and to be tricked into committing fratricide. Some believe that he is a hypostasis of the "blind" Odin and that the story has gotten hopelessly confused.

2. McCone, Hund 148.

3. Jeanmaire 584. 4. Ib. 575f.

5. The story is in Livy 2.10; Livy never says Horatius is one-eyed, but that is what Cocles means.

in Muir-chú's *Vita Patricii* I 23...was *cyclops.*"[6] The Kyros who turned Persia into a great empire was the third of that name (see above). In Germania, the smith Wieland and Hagen of the Sigfried saga were one-eyed;[7] the rebel leader Civilis was one-eyed (4.2.1.1). Svipdagr, one of Hrolf Kraki's heroes, lost an eye in a fight, and there is a Svipdagr blindi in *Ynglinga saga*[8]. This is only a sampling and does not include the monsters on the fringes such as the Cyclops or the one-eyed, dog-headed Pescoglavci (8.5.2).

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6. McCone, Hund 147.

7. Kothe, Knechte 104.

8. Whom many want to take as Odin, the present writer excluded (1.3.2).

Chapter 14. The Wolf-god and the Eye in the Well.

I have attempted to show that the explanation for the Norse god Odin's missing eye can be found in a ritual of the Vrātya brotherhoods of early India. Since the distances in both time and space are enormous, I have tried to show that this proposition is actually quite reasonable by demonstrating that the institution of cultic warrior brotherhood, represented in India by the Vrātyas, goes back to Common Indo-European, if not Proto-Indo-European, antiquity; that this warrior cult was a part of the Ancestor cult; that it played an essential role in the formation of those males who were going to be the bearers of culture and tradition; that, because of this, the institution was at the center of national life and was by its very nature conservative, so that not only did the daughter peoples continue the cult long after going their separate ways, but cult forms and symbols persisted among them long after they had replaced the cult itself with other forms of education and warfare; lastly, that the adolescent warriors were in cultic union with a god of their own, who was at once their patron and their actual leader.

None of these statements, nor the sum of them, is in any way astounding. No element is uniquely Indo-European; neither, perhaps, is the pattern in its entirety. More important than whether the pattern is unique is that it is Indo-European and that we believe that it could, and did, endure over some millennia, for as long as a daughter tribe maintained a lifestyle like that which had given rise to the institution. This should not be hard to believe when we consider that there are living societies, for example in remote parts of the Indonesian archipelago or the

Amazon basin, which are far more archaic than our model of Common Indo-European society; and that changes in European pre-history are measured in millennia. So: it is not unbelievable; but is it true?

Here we must consider the forms and symbols. The most important symbol is Canis, the wolf and the dog. Not only is canis the martial animal par préférence, but we frequently find a courotrophic female mythical being either in the form of a wolf or dog, or bearing a name which indicates that she must have had that form until such a thing became unbelievable. Wolf and dog, we have insisted, have the same cultic meaning, and yet a mysterious character keeps cropping up, the Dog-killer or Dog-strangler; to add to the mystery, "strangler" is the most common substitute word for "wolf"--and there is no "Wolf-killer." In those aspects of Death which are outside the parameters of the warrior cult Canis is again the chief symbol; as necropomp and necrophage, he often appears as a symbol of Death itself.

The Horse, too, is associated with Death: he can carry the dead warrior in triumph to the other side, or snatch the living away to the realm of the Dead. We do not find horse-warriors, but we do find the horse in connection with cultic warriors. There are pairs of male hippomorphic mythical beings among the Greeks, the Indians, and the Germans[1]. The centaur Chiron is preceptor of Greek heroes, while in the

1. The Dioskuroi introduced the Pyrriche to the youth of Sparta; Hengest and Horsa led the Anglo-Saxon migration to England. With Jan de Vries I believe that the many legendary pairs of brothers who led tribal migrations, as well as the Alcis, the twin gods of the Naharnavali

Purusamedha the vrātya is devoted (and presumably sacrificed) to the Gandharvas[2]. The Horse, no less than Canis, is prominent among the masks of the Wild Hunt (3.4.2); in Romania a men's secret society of "little horse-dancers" persisted into the thirties of this century (3.4.2, n43); and we have seen "the play of Horse" in a present-day Śiva cult (11.3.3) in which young men are consecrated to serve the god as dogs (11.3.1&2).

Thus we see these symbols spanning Indogermania spatially, so that even the vexing puzzles, such as the Dog-killer, are evenly distributed; and also temporally, so that we find dogs and horses serving a much altered Śiva cult, as well as Scandinavian Yule-rides and Masks of Halloween and Carnival, totally divorced from cult, persisting into the present.

When we turn to the men of the *herr* we again find similarities which cannot be coincidental. To Odin's Einheriar correspond the *fravašis* of Iran, "Seelen der Krieger, schön ausgerüstet,"[3] and we find the same phenomenon: The Einheriar, like the fravašis, are unambiguously helpful, therefore good, "souls," at the same time as their living

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(*Germania* 43), witness to a Dioskuroi-cult in Germania. The Indian Aśvins have the horse name. Unlike either the Wolf-god or the Totenroß, these twins seem to be unambiguously helpful beings; s. *AGRG* I,187.

2. And their consorts, the Apsarases (Hauer 54). The long-haired ecstatic (*keśin*) of RV 10.136, who shares the cup with Rudra, wanders the Gandharva-paths (5.5.1).

3. Wikander, *Vayu* 45.

counterparts are (almost) as unambiguously destructive and evil. The fravašis fight on the side of Mithra and Vāta (in their positive aspect of vərəθraγan-), while the Iranian Männerbündler are daēva-worshippers and are themselves demons (9.2). Similarly, the Einheriar will be the bulwark against the Wolf at the Last Battle; they are captivating the poetic imagination at the same time as their earthly counterparts, the berserks[4], are increasingly being portrayed as loutish and ogre-like, more like giants than heroes.

Then there is the dice-game. In itself there is nothing special about choosing a leader by lot, though one would hardly expect the losing throw to determine the leader. For this aspect we have nothing comparable attested outside of India, but in Greece and Rome, as in India, this losing throw, the one, is the "dog," and the dog can only mean Death. Leaving Rome aside, since we cannot rule out borrowing, the Greek evidence is interesting because we find in Greece the Dog-strangler--not, to be sure, in connection with the Männerbund, but with the lower kinds of oracle, with luck, and with dice: with Hermes. So we have the Dog and the Dog-killer connected with dice in Greece and India, which means it is possible that the connection is Indo-European.

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4. The úlfheðnar are certainly included under this name. The Maruts have lost the aspect of *feralis exercitus*, but we have seen evidence that they, too, were the warrior dead. The vrātyas meanwhile have become thieves and murderers; they are thought to be "un-Aryan," just as their Iranian counterparts are "Turanisch," or at least outside brahminic worship, just as the Iranian Männerbündler are demon-worshipers. Yet the memory remains of daivā vrātyāh who went to live among the gods.

The koryos-god himself, instead of disappearing along with the institution of which he is patron, often becomes a "god of the center" or even a High God. Thus the wolf-gods Apollo and Mars become gods of the center, while Rudra becomes the High God Śiva and *Woðanaz becomes the "most worshipped" of the Germanic gods, the father and king of gods in the North.

It seems clear to me that the Männerbund, as it has been described by Höfler, Jeanmaire, Alföldi, Wikander, Widengren, Falk, McCone, and others, was one institution; the complex of rites and symbols of which it was made up was one phenomenon--so much so that even its ultimate devolution, at widely different times, tends to follow a certain pattern. And the koryos-god, leader of Souls in battle-dress--this *Ekavrātya*, this *megistos kouros*, this *zum großen Gott emporgewachsener Lar militaris*--was one god, the Wolf-god, whatever his many names may have been. This is why I believe it is not in the least preposterous to suggest that a dice game which is attested only for India, as a ritual of an institution which had ceased to exist by the time the earliest commentators began trying to explicate the few texts that reflect it, can offer an explanation for the disfigurement of a god of the north of Europe which is first attested in writing at the end of the 9th century AD and (probably) pictorially only two or three centuries earlier.

But let us entertain the possibility that Odin's one eye is a strictly Germanic feature. In the words of Professor Polomé, "The Gmc. gods have to give a pledge to obtain special power (cf. Tyr's hand; perhaps also the hearing abilities of Heimdall...) and in the case of Odin, the

pledge of the eye gives him visionary and fascinating power, ability to probe the future, etc."[5] This is certainly true, on the Germanic level--or rather the Scandinavian: Because, while we know little about Týr, and nothing of his hand, outside Scandinavia, and nothing whatever of Heimdall, we are a trifle better off in the case of Odin; and, as stated in the first chapter, there is no hint that Wodan or Wuotan or Woden--or Gaut--was one-eyed. The few pictures we have of Woden show him with two eyes[6].

The story of Odin's sacrifice of his eye in exchange for a draught of wisdom strikes me, as I have said, as too sophisticated to be really old, and yet we do not want either the loss of the eye or the eye in the well to be recent: both are firmly established in the poetic language. On the other hand, there are problems with the myth as it has come down to us. Snorri's account takes care of Vsp. 28. 7-10, which says that Odin's eye is in Mímir's well; he tells us that Odin "asked for a single drink from the well, but he did not get one until he placed his eye as a pledge."[7] But Vsp. 28. 11-13 is "Mimir drinks mead every morning from Odin's pledge." If the eye is the pledge, this is passing strange. Snorri says Mímir "is full of wisdom because he drinks of the well from the horn

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5. In a personal correspondence of 24 June, 1996.

6. I do not believe an argument can made from his Schlapphut, a staple of the Wild Hunter on the continent; indeed it shades his face and hides the empty socket, but I think it is simply an updated version of an original Tarnkappe.

7. Faulkes, *Edda* 17; cf.1.1.

Giallarhorn;" but Vsp.46, as well as Snorri himself further on, identifies Giallarhorn as the horn which Heimdall will blow to summon the gods to battle, a purpose more in keeping with its name, as I have indicated[8]. And then there is the matter of the mummified head which Odin carries around with him and consults in *Ynglingasaga.*

Snorri, as usual, was doing his best with a myth of a religion in which he did not believe. I think we can accept the witness of Vsp. that Mímir was the proprietor of the spring and that Odin's eye and the Giallarhorn were in it. By this time, though, the story had already gone through several stages. I am not so bold as to try to reconstruct the various stages, but let me toss out a few ideas.

The image in Vsp. 27, 5-7, of a torrent streaming from the "pledge" leads me to think that there was an old story of the eye itself as a spring. This image finds reinforcement in the many examples which Eilers gives of a spring or well as an "eye."[9] John Carey has found several stories in Irish literature which suggest that there was an eye-and-well motif[10]. It is, of course, mead and not water which Mímir drinks

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8. 1.1, n2. On the subject of the horn, the river Gjöll, and Mímir's spring, Bruce Lincoln has, as usual, interesting thoughts; s. *Death* 54ff.

9. "Kyros" 224-226.

10. John Carey, "Irish Parallels to the Myth of Odin's Eye," *Folklore* 94 (1983) 214-218. Referring to a story about St. Brigit, Carey writes, "It is at least possible...that what we may for convenience call an 'eye-and-well' motif has here been grafted onto a story of voluntary mutilation of a more widespread type" (214). These "parallels," which are in themselves not impressive, witness to "a single complex of ideas," 217.

from Odin's pledge, but there is no problem with mead flowing from a mythical spring, and Odin is the god who won the poets' mead for gods and men and dispenses it[11].

Recall all that the IE poet stood for: the drink confers, not a talent for versifying, but inspired wisdom, divine truth. The winning of the drink of inspiration is IE heritage, but inspiration was Odin's bailiwick, mead or no: here we come back to his name (5.1). "[T]he conception that the poet's powers of mind, or even his thoughts, and especially the truth which he proclaims (*rtám*: RV 10,13,5; Yasna 44,18), his 'rightly spoken words' (Y.9,25), are 'blown on [to him], stirred up [in him]' or 'blown in, inspired' is Indo-European."[12] The IE concept of the cosmic well may also come into play here: "the well-spring is the place where Man comes into contact with the nether world, and, since Ṛta [truth] resided in these waters (RS. V.62,1), also with Ṛta itself."[13] My point is that new *aitia* are not "made up;" when an item, such as an important epithet or complex of epithets, gets detached from its original context, it will re-attach to another context which is meaningful.

As for Mímir, there are numerous examples from Celtic territory

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11. Skáldsk. 1; Háv. 104-110; de Vries, *AGRG* 2, 180-185; Simek 355-358.

12. Paul Thieme, "Die Wurzel *vat*," Schmitt 1968, 202.

13. Kuiper, Verbal Contest 249. "...The occurrence of similar ideas in Delphi and Rome may be noted in passing."

of heads in wells[14], but the motif need not be a Celtic borrowing: Germania had its own *têtes coupées*, some of which spoke[15]. Heads in wells and springs occur in European folk-tales and may be an IE motif[16], while mantic heads are far from rare[17].

So: Odin's continental and English counterparts never appear one-eyed because the god was "one-eyed" only in certain circumstances, and we have too little witness of him outside Scandinavia to expect to capture him at just the right moment. When the circumstance changed--which was probably when a new means of choosing a leader was introduced--the attributes "one-eyed" and "blind" were taken to be descriptive; but if they were descriptive, then the god must be one-eyed; and this requires an explanation. Ready to hand was the equivalence "spring/ well = eye." At some point this became a particular spring connected with the world-

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14. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 105-107; Mímir analogs 109f. Talking/ prophetic heads, Ross "The Human Head in Insular Pagan Celtic Religion," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 91 (1957-8) 39f.

15. Davidson, *Myths & Symbols* 76 (talking 77).

16. Jacqueline Simpson, "Mímir: Two Myths or One?" *Saga Book* XVI (1962-65). Heads in wells/ springs, 41-50; heads and waters an IE motif, 46; variants of Mímir's name 41-44; holy wells & sacred trees, 50; sacrifices to sacred wells, 51; concl.: one myth, 50-53, esp. 50, par.1. This article cannot be recommended too highly. I commend also Paul C. Bauschatz, "Urth's Well," *JIES* 3 (1975) 53-86 passim., but esp., for Mímir's well & Odin, 77ff.

17. Dodds, *The Greeks & the Irrational*, 147 & 168 n78.

tree[18].

A living religion will keep on explaining, and Germanic paganism was living religion for several centuries longer in Scandinavia than elsewhere. At the same time a highly sophisticated poetic tradition was developing. This would be an appropriate moment, I should think, for a new pattern to emerge of a god's sacrifice of something which is really indispensible to him to gain a higher power or a higher good: thus Týr, the sword- (and oath-?) god sacrifices his hand to chain the Wolf and thereby gain some time for gods and men before all Chaos breaks loose. Odin's sacrifice is appropriate to his roles as god of *Wōd* who has become High God: he bestows poetic vision, he transfixes the enemy army; but he also sees all worlds from his high seat. It is also fully in character for this Scandinavian god who underwent self-torture in order to compel the runes to his service: he is emerging as a god who is obsessed with acquiring the powers of knowledge.

But knowledge, let us not forget, was of great concern to this god from the very beginning. The youths he led on their razzias during half of the year spent the other half learning all the lore of their tribe (7.5.2). This is why the Wolf-god frequently becomes the patron of knowledge and the arts.

I am sure there are other aspects of Wodan's "much-contested nature" which are similar reinterpretations of archaic features; I hope to deal with them some day. All, I am convinced, go back to **Wōðanaz* as *Herjann*, god and leader of the ecstatic Männerbünde.

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18. For Mímir's part in all this see Simpson 50f.

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